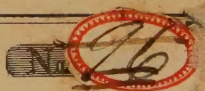

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THE

SEE OF ST. PETER

THE ROCK OF THE CHURCH,

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AND

THE CENTRE OF UNITY.

BY

THOMAS WILLIAM ALLIES, M.A.

Third Edition.

Venite, fratres, si vultis ut inseramini in vite.
Dolor est, cum vos videmus præcisos ita jacere.
Numerate Sacerdotes vel ab ipsa Petri Sede,
Et in ordine illo patrum quis cui successit videte;
Ipsa est PETRA, quam non vincunt superbæ inferorum portæ.
S. AUGUST, *Psalm. cont. part. Donati.*

NEW-YORK:
LAWRENCE KEHOE,
145 NASSAU STREET.
1866.

TO HIS HOLINESS

POPE PIUS THE NINTH

IS MOST HUMBLY OFFERED

THIS EDITION OF A WORK

WHICH ON ITS FIRST APPEARANCE

HAD THE HONOUR OF BEING TRANSLATED

AND CIRCULATED BY HIS ORDER.

LONDON,

Feast of the Immaculate Conception, 1865.

1382

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION:

BEING

A LETTER TO DR. PUSEY.

IN a book lately published by you, entitled *The Truth and Office of the English Church*, you do me the honour to make frequent citations from a work of mine, published when I was a clergyman of the Church of England; and in a note at page 237 you remark, "In quoting this book (*Allies' Church of England cleared from Schism*) I would say that his second work, after that, in despair of the English Church on the Gorham judgment, he left the Church of England, is no real answer to this, which he wrote not as a partisan, but as the fruit of investigations, as to whose issue he was indifferent." Here are statements, both of fact and of opinion, which it seems to me challenge a reply, and which I do not feel inclined to pass over without one.

And first, there is an error of fact, on which a statement of opinion is grounded. Not the first book only, but both the works in question—*The Church of England cleared from Schism*, and *The See of S. Peter the Rock of the Church, the Source of Jurisdiction, and the Centre of Unity*—were written and published by me as a clergyman of the Church of England. The preface of the second closes with the words, "My last act as an Anglican, and my last *duty* to Anglicanism, is to set forth, as I do in the following pamphlet, what has induced me to leave it." The conclusions to which I came, as the result of five years' study and prayer, in the second book, were so powerful as to force me to give up my living, to leave the communion in which I had been born and bred, and in which all my hopes of prosperity in this world lay, to become a layman in the Catholic Church, and in middle years to begin life anew. This work you describe as the work of a partisan. Of the former work—the result of two years and a half of study and prayer, the immediate effect of which was that I felt myself enabled to continue where I was in the Church of England—you say that it was "the fruit of investigations, as to whose issue he was indifferent." I should like you to explain what ground you have for saying that in the one case I wrote a book which was "the

fruit of investigations to whose issue I was indifferent," when the result was that by means of those investigations I was enabled to retain what to most men is not indifferent, their position in the religious communion in which they are born and bred, their profession, and a competent rank and provision in support of it; while in the other case I wrote a book "as a partisan," the immediate result of which was that all these advantages had to be sacrificed. Did you simply mean that when I seemed to defend the Church of England, this was "the fruit of investigations to which I was indifferent;" but that when, after double the time, labour, thought, and prayer, I felt I could defend her no longer, I wrote "as a partisan"? To write as a partisan is, I suppose, to write not as one who regards truth before all things, but something else more precious than the truth. What ground have you for saying that this something acted upon me in the second case and not in the first? I venture to think and to assert that I wrote both the first and second book with equal honesty; I wrote neither as a partisan, but for the satisfaction of my own conscience. The first, which you term "the fruit of investigations, as to whose issue I was indifferent," carried with it no sacrifice; the second, which you term the work "of a partisan," carried with it a great one: but both

were the fruit of investigations, not to which I was indifferent—for that in both cases was impossible—but in which I was determined that no consequences to myself should prevent me from setting forth what I believed to be the truth.

Having said so much on the personal question, with regard to your statement that I wrote the second book "as a partisan," I now turn to the more important point, which, however, you seem to ground on this statement of yours, namely, that my second book is no real answer to the first. Now, you make this assertion to those who are probably unacquainted with both books, one of which was published so long ago as, the first edition in 1846, the second in 1848, and the other in 1850. It is requisite, therefore, that I should give a short analysis of the argument in both cases; and this, I think, will make it clear whether or no the second book is an answer to the first.

The book, then, called *The Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism by the Decrees of the Seven Ecumenical Councils and the Traditions of the Fathers*, consists of two parts; one, the exhibition of the Roman Primacy; the other, a defence of the Church of England. I will take each in its order:

1. I began by saying,

"The writer of the following pages is more and more convinced that the whole question between the Roman Church and ourselves, as well as the Eastern Church, turns upon the Papal Supremacy, as at present claimed, being of divine right, or not. *If it be*, then have we nothing else to do, on peril of salvation, but submit ourselves to the authority of Rome; and better were it to do so before we meet the attack, which is close at hand, of an enemy who bears equal hatred to ourselves and to Rome; the predicted 'lawless one,' the Logos, reason, or private judgment of apostate humanity rising up against the Divine Logos, incarnate in His Church."

Having thus laid down that the question whether the Roman Primacy be of divine right or not, is the hinge upon which all turns, I say in p. 19, when speaking of the Primacy, as shown at the Council of Nicæa:

"This precedence or prerogative of Rome, to whatever extent it reached, was certainly, notwithstanding the famous 28th canon of Chalcedon, not either claimed or granted, especially in the West, merely because Rome was the imperial city. It was explicitly claimed by the Bishop of Rome himself, and as freely conceded by others to him, as in a special sense successor of S. Peter. From the earliest times that the Church comes before us as an organised body, the germ at least of this preëminence is observa-

ble. From the very first the Roman Pontiff seems possessed himself, as from a living tradition which had thoroughly penetrated the local Roman Church, with a consciousness of some peculiar influence he was to exercise on the whole Church. This consciousness does not show itself here and there in the line of Roman Pontiffs, but one and all, whatever their individual characters might be, seem to have imbibed it from the atmosphere which they breathed. S. Victor and S. Stephen, S. Innocent, S. Leo the Great, and S. Gregory, are quite of one mind here. That they were the successors of S. Peter, who himself sat and ruled and spoke in their person, was as strongly felt, and as consistently declared, by those Pontiffs who preceded the time of Constantine, and who had continually to pay with their blood the price of that high pre-eminence, as by those who followed the conversion of the empire, when the honour of their post was not accompanied by so much danger. I am speaking now, be it remembered, of the feeling *which possessed them.* The feeling of their brother Bishops concerning them may have been less definite, as was natural; but, at least, even those who most opposed any arbitrary stretch of authority on their part, as S. Cyprian, fully admitted that they sat in the See of Peter, and ordinarily treated them with the greatest deference. This is written so very legibly upon the records of antiquity, that I am persuaded any one, who

is even very slightly acquainted with them, cannot with sincerity dispute it."

Going on rather more than a hundred years, I come to S. Leo the Great, and of him I say, p. 248, that his

"Long and able Pontificate will afford us the best means of judging what the legitimate power of the Roman See was, and how it tended to the preservation and unity of the whole Church. He lived at an important crisis, when the barbarous tribes of the North were about to burst over the Empire and the Church; the system of which, had it not been consolidated by himself, his immediate predecessors and successors, might have been dissolved and broken up into fragments. I will first show, by a few quotations, that S. Leo had no slight sense of his own duty and dignity among his brother Bishops. We will then see how his actions, and the way in which they were received by others, supported his words."

I then quote the following from a sermon of his on the anniversary of his consecration:

"Although, then, beloved, our partaking in that gift be a great subject for common joy, yet it were a better and more excellent cause of rejoicing, if ye rest not in the consideration of our humility; more profitable and more worthy by far it is to raise the mind's eye unto the contem-

plation of the most blessed Apostle Peter's glory, and to celebrate this day chiefly in the honour of him, who was watered with streams so copious from the very Fountain of all graces, that while nothing has passed to others without his participation, yet he received many special privileges of his own. The Word made flesh already dwelt in us, and Christ had given up Himself whole to restore the race of man. Wisdom had left nothing unordered; power left nothing difficult. Elements were obeying, spirits ministering, angels serving; it was impossible that Mystery could fail of its effect, in which the Unity and the Trinity of the Godhead itself was at once working. *And yet out of the whole world Peter alone is chosen to preside over the calling of all the Gentiles, and over all the Apostles, and the collected Fathers of the Church; so that though there be among the people of God many priests and many shepherds, yet Peter rules all by personal commission, whom Christ also rules by sovereign power. Beloved, it is a great and wonderful participation of His own power which the Divine condescendence gave to this man; and if He willed that other rulers should enjoy aught together with him, yet never did He give, save through him, what He denied not to others.* In fine, the Lord asks all the Apostles what men think of Him; and they answer in common so long as they set forth the doubtfulness of human ignorance. But when what the disciples think is required, he who is first in Apostolic dignity is first also in confes-

sion of the Lord. And when he had said, 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God,' Jesus answered him, 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but My Father, which is in Heaven;' that is, Thou art blessed, because My Father hath taught thee; not opinion which is of the earth deceived thee, but heavenly inspiration instructed thee; and not flesh and blood hath shown Me to thee, but He, whose only-begotten Son I am. And I, saith He, say unto thee, that is, as My Father hath manifested to thee My Godhead, so I, too, make known to thee, thine own preëminence. For thou art Peter; that is, whilst I am the immutable Rock, I, the corner-stone, who make both one, I, the foundation beside which no one can lay another; *yet thou also art a rock, because by My virtue thou art established, so that whatever is Mine by sovereign power is to thee by participation common with Me.* And upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: on this strength, saith He, I will build an eternal temple, and My Church, which in its height shall reach the heaven, shall rise upon the firmness of this faith. This confession the gates of hell shall not restrain, nor the chains of death fetter; for that voice is the voice of life. And as it raises those who confess it unto heavenly places, so it plunges those who deny it into hell. Wherefore it is said to most blessed Peter, 'I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever

thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' The privilege of this power did indeed pass to the other Apostles, and the order of this decree reached to all the rulers of the Church, but not without purpose what is intended for all is put into the hands of one. For therefore is this intrusted to Peter singly, because all the rulers of the Church are invested with the figure of Peter. The privilege therefore, of Peter remaineth, wheresoever judgment is passed according to his equity. Nor can severity or indulgence be excessive, where nothing is bound, nothing loosed, save what blessed Peter either bindeth or looseth. But at the approach of His passion, which would disturb the firmness of His disciples, the Lord saith, 'Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat; but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not, and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren, that ye enter not into temptation.' The danger from the temptation of fear was common to all the Apostles, and they equally needed the help of Divine protection, since the devil desired to dismay, to make a wreck of all; and yet the Lord takes care of Peter in particular and asks specially for the faith of Peter, as if the state of the rest would be more certain, if the mind of their chief were not overcome. *So then in Peter the strength of all is protected, and the help of Divine grace is so ordered that the stability, which through*

Christ is given to Peter, through Peter is conveyed to the Apostles.

"Since, therefore, beloved, we see such a protection divinely granted to us, reasonably and justly do we rejoice in the merits and dignity of our Chief, rendering thanks to the Eternal King, our Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ, for having given so great a power to him whom He made chief of the whole Church, that if any thing, even in our time, by us be rightly done and rightly ordered, it is to be ascribed to his working, to his guidance, unto whom it was said,—'And thou, when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren:' and to whom the Lord, after His resurrection, in answer to the triple profession of eternal love, thrice said with mystical intent, 'Feed My sheep.' And this, beyond a doubt, the pious shepherd does even now, and fulfils the charge of his Lord; strengthening us with his exhortations, and not ceasing to pray for us, that we may be overcome by no temptation. But if, as we must believe, he every where discharges this affectionate guardianship to all the people of God, how much more will he condescend to grant his help unto us his children, among whom on the sacred couch of his blessed repose he resteth in the same flesh in which he ruled. To him, therefore, let us ascribe this anniversary day of us his servant, and this festival, by whose advocacy we have been thought worthy to share his seat itself, the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ helping us in all things, Who

liveth and reigneth with God the Father and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever."

These being the *words* of S. Leo the Great as to his own office, I give, in p. 252, the following summary of his actions:

"A Pontiff so deeply and religiously impressed with the prerogatives of S. Peter's successor, was likely to be energetic in discharging his duties. In truth, we behold S. Leo set on a watch-tower and directing his gaze over the whole Church: over his own West more especially, but over the East too, if need be. He can judge Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, as well as Eugubium, and is as ready too. Wherever Canons are broken, ancient customs disregarded, encroachments attempted, where Bishops are neglectful, or Metropolitans tyrannical, where heresy is imputed to Patriarchs; in short, wherever a stone in the whole sacred building is being loosened, or threatens to fall, there is he at hand to repair and restore, to warn, to protect, and to punish."

In p. 275, I say:

"The question then at issue is, whether the Bishop of Rome be the first of the Patriarchs, and first Bishop of the whole world, the head of the Apostolic college, and holding among them the place which Peter held; all which I freely acknowledge as the testimony of antiquity.

At p. 270, I had already said:

"I am fully prepared to admit that the Primacy of the Roman See, even among the patriarchs, was a real thing; not a mere title of honour."

On reading over now S. Leo's statement of his own Primacy, as quoted from my book above, I cannot forbear remarking that Count de Maistre would be quite satisfied so to express the office and prerogatives of the Holy Father, and I feel that our present Holy Father would desire no better exponent of the rights and powers of the Apostolic See than his great predecessor gives in the passage quoted.

But how did his own contemporaries receive it? Did they protest that he was assuming a power never given to his see? Did they declare that, in terming himself the special successor of S. Peter, who lived and reigned in his see, he was introducing a new and unknown idea? In pp. 298-302, I give the synodical letter of the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon to this same Pope. Be it remembered that it was a Council composed of all the great prelates of the East, the Roman legates, who presided in the name of the Pope, being the only Westerns present; that it is one of the four Councils which the Anglican Church still professes to receive as Ecumenical; that, therefore, if there be any occasion in all the eighteen centuries on which the whole Church,

according to Anglican principles, may be said to have spoken, it is by the voice of this Council. I quote then again from my book what this Council said spontaneously to Pope S. Leo, on the very subjects on which, above, we have seen him speaking himself.

First, p. 298, they call the Pope specially the successor of S. Peter, and, as such, the maintainer of the deposit of doctrine descending from Christ, and their leader (ἀρχηγὸς) unto good.

"Our mouth was filled with laughter and our tongue with joy: grace has fitted this prophecy to us, by whom the restoration of piety has been accomplished. For what can be higher matter of concern for joy than the Faith? or motive for brighter pleasure than the knowledge of the Lord, which the Saviour Himself delivered unto us from above for our salvation, when He said, 'Go ye, and make disciples all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.' This knowledge, descending to us like a golden chain from the command of Him who established it, thou hast kept throughout, *being set forth to all men as the interpreter of the voice of the blessed Peter, and drawing upon all the blessing of his faith. Whence we also, enjoying the advantage of thee as our leader unto good*, have exhibited the inheritance of the truth to the children of the Church, not teaching each

by himself in a corner, but making known the confession of the Faith with one Spirit, with one accord and agreement."

Speaking of themselves as assembled in Ecumenical Council, they say the Pope presided over them, as the Head over the members.

"For if where two or three are gathered together in His name, there He said He would be in the midst of them, how intimately showed He Himself to five hundred and twenty priests, who preferred the declaration of their confession in Him before both their country and their toil! *Amongst whom thou as a head over the members didst preside*, in the persons of those who held thy place, showing thy good-will."

They speak of the Pope as the one to whom the guardianship of his vine was intrusted by the Saviour; saying of Dioscorus, the deposed Archbishop of Alexandria, that he,

"Besides all this *turned his madness even against the very one intrusted by the Saviour with the guardianship of the vine, thy Holiness we mean.*"

They term themselves the Holy Father's children:

"We have judged well-timed the confirmation of this honour to it" (the rank of the Second See to the Church of Constantinople), "by the Ecumenical Council, and have ratified it with confidence, as if it had been begun by thy Holi-

ness, who art ever ready to cherish them: *being aware that every success of the children is reckoned to the parents who own them*" (I should have translated, who make it, the success, their own). "We therefore entreat that you would honour our decision with your suffrage likewise: *as we have introduced agreement with the head* (τῇ κεφαλῇ) *in good things, so let your Highness* (ἡ κορυφὴ τοῖς παισὶν) *fulfil to your children what is fitting.*"

Lastly, they leave to him the confirmation of their acts:

"*We have left the whole force of the acts to you, that you may approve of us, confirming and assenting to what we have done.*"

After giving this letter in full, I say, p. 302:

"He who rejects the Primacy of the Pope, with this letter of the Council of Chalcedon before him, must be prepared to give up the witness of antiquity, and to reject the authority of the Catholic Church."

In p. 491, summing up the whole seven centuries, I say:

"History, then, teaches us that, as a fact, the Primacy of Rome has always existed; and reverence would suggest that what has always been admitted by the Church of Christ, His Bride, was intended and foreordered by Him, with those whose voice she speaks."

In p. 313, I had said:

"The Primacy, being itself of divine institution, might yet have greater or smaller privileges attached to it by the Canons of Councils or tacit consent of Bishops."

And again, in p. 315:

"In truth it by no means follows that because the Primacy is of divine institution, therefore all the privileges which are claimed under cover of the Primacy are likewise of Divine institution."

Here then is a summary of the contents of my book, which you say that I wrote, "not as a partisan, but as the fruit of investigations, as to whose issue I was indifferent," on the main subject upon which it treats, the Roman Primacy. I began by stating that all turned upon the point whether it was of divine institution or not, and I came to the conclusion, that it is of divine institution, so borne witness to by antiquity, and the authority of the Church, especially as assembled at the fourth Ecumenical Council, which may be said to sum up and embody the history of the preceding four hundred years, and to interpret and harmonise the whole evolution of the Papacy in that time, and thus to corroborate its exercise by S. Leo, that (p. 302) "he who rejects the Primacy of the Pope, with this letter of the Council of Chalcedon before him, must be prepared to give up the witness of antiquity, and to

reject the authority of the Catholic Church;" to which I add, in p. 491, that "he who believes in the Church as the Bride of Christ must believe that what has always been admitted by her was intended and foreordered by Him, with whose voice she speaks."

What then was the defence of the Church of England which, in the midst of such statements concerning the Roman Primacy, I set up? It is thus stated in p. 366:

"That during this period (the first six centuries) the Bishop of Rome was recognised to be first Bishop of the whole Church, of very great influence, successor of S. Peter, and standing in the same relation to his brethren the Bishops that S. Peter stood in to his brother Apostles; this, on the whole, I believe to be the testimony of the first six centuries, such as a person not wilfully blind, and who was not content to take the witness of a Father when it suited his purpose and passed it by when it did not, would draw from Ecclesiastical documents. I have set it forth to the best of my ability, as well where it seemed to tell against the present position of the Church of England, as in those many points in which it supports her.

"What then is our defence on her part against the charge of schism? It is simply this. That no one can now be in the Communion of Rome without admitting this very thing which Pope Gregory declares to be blasphemous and anti-

christian, and derogatory to the honour of every Priest. This is the very head and front of our offending, that we refuse to allow that the Pope is Universal Bishop. If the charge were, that we refuse to stand in the same relation to the Pope that S. Augustine of Canterbury stood in to this very S. Gregory, that we refuse to regard and honour the successor of S. Gregory with the same honour with which our Archbishops, as soon as they were seated in the government of their Church, and were no longer merely Missionaries but Primates, regarded the occupant of S. Peter's See, I think both the separation three hundred years ago, and the present continuance of it on our part, would, so far as this question of schism is concerned, be utterly indefensible. But this is *not* the point. It may indeed be, and frequently is, so stated by unfair opponents. The real point is, that, during the nine hundred years which elapsed between 596 and 1534, the power of the Pope, and his relation to the Bishops in his Communion, had essentially altered: had been, in fact, placed upon another basis. That from being first Bishop of the Church, and Patriarch, originally of the ten Provinces under the Vicar of the Præfectus Prætorio of Italy, then of France, Spain, Africa, and the West generally, he had claimed to be the source and channel of grace to all Bishops, the fountain head of jurisdiction to the whole world, East as well as West; in fact, the 'Solus Sacerdos,' the 'Universus Episcopus,' contemplated

by S. Gregory. There is a world-wide difference between the ancient signature of the Popes, 'Episcopus Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Urbis Romæ,' and that of Pope Pius at the Council of Trent, 'Ego Pius Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus.' It has been no longer left in the choice of any to accept his *Primacy*, without accepting his *Monarchy*, which those who profess to follow antiquity must believe that the Bishops of Nicea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, Augustine and Chrysostom, the West and the East, would have rejected with the horror shown by S. Gregory at the first dawning of such an idea. And, whereas Holy Scripture and antiquity present us with one accordant view of the Universal Church governed by S. Peter and the Apostolic College, and, during the times of the seven Ecumenical Councils at least, as the Bishop of Rome is seen to exercise the Primacy of S. Peter, so his brother Bishops stand to him as the College of Apostles stood to S. Peter; instead of this, which is the Church's divine hierarchy, instituted by Christ Himself, the actual Roman Church is governed by one Bishop who has an Apostolical independent power, whilst all the rest, who should be his brethren, are merely his delegates, receiving from his hand the investiture of such privileges as they still retain. If S. Gregory did not mean this by the terms 'Solus Sacerdos,' 'Universus Episcopus,' what did he mean? That the Pope should be the only Priest who offered sacrifice, or the only Bishop who ordain-

ed confirmed, &c., is physically impossible. Nor did the title of the Bishops of Constantinople tend to this: but to claim to themselves jurisdiction over the coördinate Patriarchs of the East, as the Popes have since done over the Bishops of the whole world. We have no need to consider what is the amount of this difficulty to Roman Catholics themselves: the same Providence, which has placed them under that obedience, has placed us outside of it. Our cause, indeed, cannot be different now from what it was at the commencement of the separation. If inherently indefensible then, it is so now. But if then 'severe but just,' the lapse of three centuries in our separate state may materially affect our relative duties. I affirm my conviction, that it is better to endure almost any degree of usurpation, provided only it be not anti-Christian, than to make a schism: for the state of schism is a frustration of the purposes of the Lord's Incarnation; and through this, not only the English, and the Eastern Church, but the Roman also, lies fettered and powerless before the might of the world, and bleeding internally at every pore. How shall a divided Church meet and overcome the philosophical unbelief of these last times? or, the one condition to which victory is attached being broken, crush the deadliest attack of the old enemy? But the schism is made; let those answer for it before Christ's tribunal who made it. Now that it is made, I see not how a system, which is not

a true development of the ancient Patriarchal constitution, but its antagonist, according to S. Gregory's words, can be forced upon us, on pain of our salvation, who have the original succession of the ancient Bishops of this realm, if any such there be, and the old Patriarchal constitution, '*sua tantum si bona norint.*' I ground our present position simply on the appeal to tradition and the decrees of all the Ecumenical Councils."

Again, at p. 446:

"If it be true that the Pope is Monarch of the Church, which is the present Papal theory, the Church of England is in schism. If it be not true, she is at least clear of that fatal mark. All that is required for her position is the maintenance of that Nicene Constitution, which we have heard S. Leo solemnly declare was to last to the end of the world, viz. that every Province of the Church be governed by its own Bishops under its own Metropolitan. And who then but will desire that the successor of S. Peter should hold S. Peter's place? Will the Patriarch of Constantinople, or the Archbishop of Moscow, or the Primate of Canterbury, so much as think of assuming it? Be this our answer when we are accused of not really holding that article of the Creed, 'one Catholic and Apostolic Church.' Let the Bishop of Rome require of us that honour and power which he possessed at the Synod of Chalcedon, *that, and*

not a totally different one under the same name, and we shall be in schism when we do not yield it. At present we have no farther separated from him than to fall back on the constitution of the Church of the Martyrs and the Fathers."

But with regard to this defence it is further stated that the whole question of *doctrine* is reserved. I quote the concluding pages (pp. 505-8):

"As our defence against the charge of schism rests upon the witness of the ancient Church, thus fully corroborated by the Eastern Communion, so our whole safety lies in maintaining the clear indubitable doctrine of that Church. I have avoided the whole question of *doctrine* in these remarks, both as leading me into a wider field than that which I am obliged to traverse so cursorily at present, and as distinct from the question of Schism, though very closely connected with it. No one can deny that it is not sufficient for our safety to repel one single charge: but this charge was the most pressing, the most specious, and one which requires to be disposed of before the mind can with equanimity enter upon any other. My conclusion is, that upon the strictest Church principles,—in other words, upon those principles which all Christendom, in its undivided state, recognised for eight hundred years, which may be seen in the Canons and Decrees of the seven Ecumenical Councils, and more at large in the actions and writings of the

Fathers,—our present position is tenable at least till the convocation of a really Ecumenical Council. The Church of England has never rejected the Communion of the Western, and still less that of the Eastern Church: neither has the Eastern Church pronounced against her. She has only exercised the right of being governed by her own Bishops and Metropolitans. There is, indeed, much peril of her being forced from this, her true position. I cannot conceive any course which would so thoroughly quench the awakened hopes of the Church's most faithful children, as that her rulers, which I am loth even to imagine, at a crisis like the present, should seek support, not in the rock of the ancient Church, in which Andrewes, Laud, and Ken, took refuge of old—not in the unbroken tradition of the East and West, by which, if at all, the Church of Christ must be restored,—not in that great system which first subdued and then impregnated with fresh life the old Roman Empire, delaying a fall which nothing could avert, and which lastly built up out of those misshapen ruins all the Christian polities of Europe,—not in that time-honoured and universal fabric of doctrine to which our own Prayer-book bears witness, but in the wild, inconsistent, treacherous sympathies of a Protestantism, which the history of three hundred years in many various countries has proven to be dead to the heart's core. Farewell, indeed, to any true defence of the Church of England, any hope of her

being built up once more to an Apostolical beauty and glory, of recovering her lost discipline and intercommunion with Christendom, if she is by any act of her rulers, or any decree of her own, to be mixed up with the followers of Luther, Calvin, or Zuingle: with those who have neither love, nor unity, nor dogmatic truth, nor Sacraments, nor a visible Church among themselves; who, never consistent but in the depth of error and the secret instinct of heresy, deny regeneration in Baptism, and the gift of the Holy Spirit in Confirmation and Orders, and the power of the keys in absolution, and the Lord's Body in the Eucharist. That is the way of death; who is so mad as to enter on it? When Protestantism lies throughout Europe and America a great disjointed mass, in all the putridity of dissolution,

'Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, *cui lumen ademptum.*'

judicially blinded, so that it cannot perceive Christ dwelling in His Church, while she grows to the measure of the stature of the perfect man, and making her members and ministers His organs—who would think of joining to it a living Church? Have we gone through so much experience in vain? Have we seen it develop into Socinianism at Geneva, and utter unbelief in Germany, and a host of sects in England and America, whose name is Legion, and who seem to be agreed in nothing else but in the denial of Sacramental grace and visible unity; and all this

at the last hour, in the very turning-point of our destiny, to seek alliance with those who have no other point of union but common resistance to the tabernacle of God among men? A persuasion that nothing short of the very existence of the Church of England is at stake, that one step into the wrong will fix her character and her prospects for ever, compels one to say that certain acts and tendencies of late have struck dismay into those who desire above all things to love and respect their spiritual mother. If the Jerusalem Bishopric, the still-born offspring of an illicit connection,

'Cui non risere parentes,'

be the commencement of a course of amalgamation with the Lutheran or Calvinistic heresy, who that values the authority of the ancient undivided Church will not feel his allegiance to our own branch of it fearfully shaken? 'May that measure utterly fail and come to naught, and be as though it had never been!' The time for silence is past. There is such a thing as '*propter vitam vivendam perdere causas.*' It must be said publicly that such a course will lead infallibly to a schism, which will bury the Church of England in its ruins. If she is to become a mere lurking-place for omnigenous latitudinarianism; if first principles of the Faith, such as baptismal regeneration, and priestly absolution, may be indifferently held or denied within her pale,—though if not God's very truths, they are

most fearful blasphemies, — the sooner she is swept away the better. There is no mean between her being 'a wall daubed with untempered mortar,' or the city of the living God. I speak as one who has every thing commonly valuable to man depending on this decision; moreover, as a Priest in that Communion, whose constitution, violently suspended by an Enemy for one hundred and thirty years, yet requires that every one of her acts, which bind her as a whole, should be assented to by her Priesthood in representation, as well as by her Episcopacy. To suffer it to be an open question, a matter of doubt, which he who wills may hold, and he who wills may deny, whether or no grace is attached to the acts of the Church, whether or no she has the power and presence of her Lord, whether or no the Body of Christ is really offered on her altars, is a course as intrinsically dishonest and contemptible, as in its effects it must be disastrous. What house with such a rent in it can stand against the first wind that blows? The true position of the Church of England is far other than this. She claimed of old to maintain the Faith of the East and West: her security lies in setting it forth in all its purity, in all its completeness. It is not by dissembling, but by exhibiting the truth in its entire cycle, that she must prevail: not by enduring a secret and dishonest compromise between contradictory principles, but by maintaining THE FAITH, that she must fix the hearts of her children, and draw

to her those of her opponents. In a negation, in an unreality, no heart can rest. For one rule of life, and no more, hath God given, that which His Apostles preached and planted in all lands: and one bosom only is there in which His children may live in charity and die in peace, that of the Holy Church Catholic. In the hour of need no other support can we find, but that we belong to her who is the Bride of her Lord, the Body whose Head is in Heaven, which grows through all times and climes unto the measure of the stature of the perfect man to be revealed in eternity. One temple only is there which gathers in its vast embrace, its long-drawn aisles and central shrine, the worship of all human hearts: which symbolises even in its outward form the life of all living beings, and the hope of man—the most Holy Trinity and the Cross—God in himself, and God become man, his Saviour, his Food, and his Reward—the temple of the Church Catholic. Thrice blessed would he be, who was allowed by the labour of his hands, the toil of his mind, or the cost of his blood, to restore one stone which had been displaced in that divine structure. More blessed yet it were to remove a wall which the Enemy has been allowed to draw within the divine enclosure, defacing its fair proportions, and obscuring its sacred symbolism; to join together hearts, which, outwardly divided, feed on the same eternal verity of God made man, and only require the knowledge of each other, of their reciprocal aims and hopes.

to be united in outward confession as in inward belief, and to embrace in a never-ending charity."

It will be seen from the above that, while attesting all through my book the existence from the most ancient times of the Roman Primacy, and even calling it of divine institution, while pointing to its exercise by the great Popes, S. Leo in the middle of the fifth, and S. Gregory at the end of the sixth century, as the ideal of the Church's constitution, I ground a defence of the Church of England on two points: first, a supposed corruption of this Primacy, whatever it was, into a monarchy, the nature of which corruption, however, is nowhere distinctly specified; (with this subject I deal most fully in the second book, that on the See of S. Peter, which follows this letter, and especially in the preface to it, and in the sixth and seventh chapters;) and secondly, an ignoring, or rather an implicit denial of the royal supremacy in the Church of England. I assume the Anglican Bishops to be in possession of those original episcopal powers which I imagined that the Papacy had taken away from the Bishops of the Roman Church:

"I see not how a system, which is not a true development of the ancient Patriarchal constitution, but its antagonist, can be forced upon us, on pain of our salvation, who have the original succession of the ancient Bishops of this realm,

if any such there be, and the old Patriarchal constitution, *sua tantum si bona norint*" (p. 368).

This egregious error of imagining that the constitution of the Anglican Church was the old Patriarchal constitution forms the subject of the pamphlet which I am about to quote.

My work was published in February 1848. Let us see what the lapse of two years did with the two props which I had set up for the Anglican Church.

In February 1850, a trial in the Court of Arches, as to whether a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England might deny the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, had brought out the Royal Supremacy, as the real ruler and supreme governor, as in fact, *mutatis mutandis*, the Cathedra Petri of Anglicanism.

In years before this, from the end of 1845, when I went to you for advice and consolation under difficulties, and when, as I am constrained to say, your mode of advising and consoling was to "uncork a fog-bottle in one's face," your custom was to deny altogether that ugly fact of the Royal Supremacy. I well remember therefore the astonishment with which in that month of February 1850 I turned over, in Gibson's Codex, the legal proofs of the Papal Supremacy having been transferred to the civil power. The effect which this discovery had upon me is de-

tailed in a pamphlet which I then published, and of which I sent you a copy, entitled *The Royal Supremacy viewed in reference to the two Spiritual Powers of Order and Jurisdiction.*

As pamphlets quickly pass away, and as the contents of this are exactly to the point on which I am dwelling, that is, how far I myself answered what I had written in behalf of the Church of England, I think I cannot do better than cite a portion of this short treatise.

"The Royal Supremacy in causes ecclesiastical has by the case of Gorham *v.* the Bishop of Exeter been brought before the minds of all churchmen as an object of engrossing interest. And this is true in two points of view. Whether we regard the power claimed by the crown to judge as a final court of appeal, in causes most purely spiritual, or whether we look at the decision itself recently given, the Royal Supremacy may be said to be now affecting the spiritual condition before God of every member of the Anglican Church. This being the case—that is, the Catholicity of a whole Communion, and by consequence the salvation of the souls belonging to it, being at issue,—I feel it impossible to deal with the subject in a controversial spirit. I must not advocate a cause, but simply state the truth. I must not turn away my eyes from certain parts of the subject, because they are disagreeable, nay, in the highest degree oppressive to my convictions and feelings as a Christian. All

that I have to deal with is *the truth*, the actual state of things, and the poet's praise is the highest here, 'nothing extenuate, set down naught in malice'—for to make things appear better than they are, because the reality is very trying, very agitating to tender or to doubtful minds, because one would wish things otherwise, because as a question of common Christian right, of English liberty, they ought to be otherwise,—this is, I think, in a matter of such moment, playing with souls."

First, then, as to what the Royal Supremacy really is, I say

"Nothing can be plainer than the meaning of the acts of Parliament; nor are the articles and canons ambiguous, when it is considered that they *follow* these acts of Parliament in time, and have reference to them in their subject matter.

"For instance, the 37th Article says, 'The Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain; and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

"'Where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word or of the Sacraments, the which thing the injunctions also late-

ly set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in Holy Scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers. The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of England.'

"Now, supposing that question may arise as to the nature and extent of this 'chief government' here asserted, so far as the article itself goes, yet it refers to two other documents in explanation of its own meaning, viz. to the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, and, in them, to a certain oath imposed by a certain act of Parliament.

"Let us see whether these two authorities leave us in any doubt as to the meaning of the article.

"The injunctions run thus:*

"'The Queen's Majesty being informed that in certain places of the realm sundry of her native subjects, being called to ecclesiastical ministry of the Church, be by sinister persuasion and perverse construction induced to find some scruple in the form of an oath which by an act of the last Parliament is prescribed to be required of divers persons for the recognition of their allegiance to her Majesty, which certainly never was

* Gibson, i. 54.

meant, nor by any equity of words or good sense can be thereof gathered; would that all her loving subjects should understand that nothing was, is, or shall be meant or intended by the same oath to have any other duty, allegiance, or bond required by the same oath, *than was acknowledged to be due to the most noble kings of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, her Majestie's father, or King Edward the Sixth, her Majestie's brother.*

"'And further, her Majesty forbiddeth all manner her subjects to give ear or credit to such perverse and malicious persons, which most sinisterly and maliciously labour to notifie to her loving subjects, how by words of the said oath it may be collected, *that the Kings or Queens of this realm, possessors of the crown, may challenge authority and power of ministry of divine service in the Church*, wherein her said subjects be much abused by such evil-disposed persons. For certainly her Majesty neither doth nor ever will challenge any authority *than that was challenged and lately used by the said noble Kings, of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth and King Edward the Sixth*, which is and was of ancient time due to the Imperial Crown of this realm; that is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them. And if any person that hath conceived any other sense of the

form of the said oath shall accept the same oath with this interpretation, sense, or meaning, her Majesty is well pleased to accept every such in that behalf as her good and obedient subjects, and shall acquit them of all manner of penalties contained in the said act against such as shall peremptorily or obstinately refuse to take the same oath.'

"The oath here mentioned to be taken by all ecclesiastical persons and temporal officers runs as follows in the Act 1 Eliz. c. 1, which imposes it, sect. 19:

"'I do utterly testify and declare in my conscience that the Queen's Highness is the only supreme Governor of this realm, and of all other her Highness's dominions and countries, as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical things or causes as Temporal; and that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate hath, or ought to have, any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preeminence, or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign Jurisdictions, Powers, Superiorities, and Authorities, and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance unto the Queen's Highness, her heirs and lawful successors, *and to my power shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Privileges, Preëminences, and Authorities granted or belonging unto the Queen's Highness, her heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm.*"

"This same act, in sect. 17, runs thus:

"'And that also it may likewise please your Highness that it may be established and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that *such Jurisdictions, Privileges, Superiorities, and Preëminences, Spiritual and Ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been or may lawfully be exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, shall for ever, by authority of this present Parliament, be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm.*'

"Bishop Gibson, from whose Codex I quote this act, puts beside of this section, as its summary, 'Such spiritual jurisdiction, as hath heretofore been exercised, shall be for ever annexed to the crown.' And his heading of the page is, 'Supreme Head of the Church of England, Papal and Regal.'

"I should think that no man living, of competent knowledge and fairness of mind, looking at these three documents; first, the article referring to certain injunctions, then the injunctions referring to and interpreting an oath, which oath is contained in an Act of Parliament enacting further provisions in elucidation of it, which the oath records and embraces, and bearing in mind that the article was accepted and enacted by the Church *after* the injunctions and the act of Parliament, would fail to draw the conclusion,

that both article and injunctions, and act of Parliament, concurred in annexing to the Crown whatever spiritual jurisdiction had before been possessed by the Pope.

"And I think it is equally clear, from the words of the article, and of Queen Elizabeth's injunctions, that the authority and preëminence thus annexed to the crown belonged to the power of Jurisdiction, and not to the power of Order. 'Her Majesty forbiddeth to give ear or credit, that the kings or queens of this realm, possessors of the crown, may challenge authority and power of ministry of divine service in the church.'

"The change, therefore, did not touch any thing which belonged to the mere power of Order.

"Nevertheless the Supremacy thus transferred from the Pope to the Sovereign was the full Papal Supremacy; for that in which the Pope differs from any other priest or any other bishop is not a power of Order, but a power of Jurisdiction.

"This is stated very lucidly by one of the greatest Roman theologians thus: 'The pontifical power is, as it were, the primal example of all spiritual power of jurisdiction; for no one will deny that that is a true spiritual power of active jurisdiction, nay, in that order the highest which can exist in mere men. Now that power is not given to the Pontiff by any consecration, but by election, and the bare grant of God; for when He said to Peter, Feed My sheep, He impressed on him no new consecration or character, but gave him a mere power of jurisdiction. So too

the Pope, when rightly elected, is immediately true Pope as to such power, and as to that receives no consecration; nay, if not already a bishop or a priest, he must be afterwards consecrated or even ordained, and nevertheless *in the mean time he can exercise all acts of mere external jurisdiction.* Therefore, in the same manner the proper power of jurisdiction is granted to other bishops by election, or simple concession, not by consecration, for the principle is the same, not only because the episcopal power is but a certain participation of the papal power, but likewise because, as in the appointment of the Pope to apply to him matter (for the exercise of his jurisdiction) is nothing else but to make the whole Church subject to him, and to make it subject to him is nothing else but to give to him a true and new power over it; so, when a see is given to one only consecrated bishop before, matter (for jurisdiction) is applied to him no otherwise than that certain persons become his subjects which before they were not; nor do they become his subjects save by giving him a new power as a superior altogether distinct from the power of Order or from consecration. Lastly, because, *like as acts of pontifical jurisdiction, as such, are not acts of order or consecration, nor flow from it, so neither are acts of episcopal jurisdiction;* and a like argument may be drawn from the jurisdiction of the Apostles, as will be clear to any one who considers it' (Suarez, *de Legibus*, lib. iv. c. 4).

"I consider, therefore, that the whole subject of the Royal Supremacy, of its nature, of its limits, its bearing on the spiritual condition of the church subject to it, and on the administration of certain sacramental acts of the highest importance as well to the external government of such a church as to the salvation of individual souls, cannot be understood without a previous understanding of the distinction between the power of Order and the power of Jurisdiction, and of the acts severally belonging to them; which I will therefore endeavour briefly to call to remembrance.

"Spiritual power is manifold, yet it is usual to divide it into the power of Order and the power of Jurisdiction.

"(*a*) The power of Order may be briefly defined as a certain moral faculty directed to the religious worship of God, either by the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, or by the administration or dispensation of the sacraments instituted for the sanctification of the faithful, or by any other ceremonies which may fitly accompany the holy sacrifice, or the sacraments.

"Or it may be set forth thus, a little more at length. In the mystical Body of Christ spiritual grace is conferred under the sacrament of visible things. And, as every action should bear a proportion to the agent, the dispensing of such sacraments should take place by visible men possessing a spiritual power. For the institution and virtue of sacraments derive their

source from Christ, of whom the Apostle said, 'Christ loved the Church, and gave Himself for it, that He might sanctify and cleanse it by the washing of water by the word.' So too in the last Supper, Christ gave the Sacrament of His Body and Blood, and instituted it to be repeated; and these are the chief sacraments: as, then, Christ was about to withdraw His corporal presence from the Church, it was necessary to make others His ministers, to dispense the sacraments to the faithful, as the Apostle says, 'Let a man so account of us as ministers of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God.' Thence it was that He committed to His disciples the consecration of His Body and Blood, saying, 'Do this in remembrance of Me.' He gives to them likewise a power of remitting sins, according to John xx. 23, 'Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted.' Also He laid upon them the charge of teaching and baptising, saying (Matt. xxviii. 19), 'Go ye, and teach all nations, baptising them.' Now the minister stands in such a relation to his Lord as the instrument to the chief agent. For just as the instrument is moved by the agent to effectuate any thing, so is the minister moved by his Lord's command to execute. And the instrument should bear a proportion to the agent: whence the ministers of Christ too must be conformed to Him. Now Christ, as the Lord, wrought our salvation by His proper authority and virtue, in that He was God and man: in that He was man suffering

for our redemption; in that He was God, His passion being salutary to us. So then must the ministers of Christ be men, and partake somewhat of His Divinity according to a certain spiritual power: since the instrument participates in somewhat of the virtue of the principal agent. Of this power it is that the Apostle says, 'The power which God hath given me to edification and not to destruction.'

"Nor can we say that such a power was so given to Christ's disciples, as not to be derived through them unto others: for it was given to them for the edification of the Church, as the Apostle has just said. Therefore this power should be perpetuated, so long as the Church must be edified. And this must continue after the death of Christ's disciples unto the end of the world. Spiritual power therefore was given to Christ's disciples, to devolve through them on others: so that the Lord addressed His disciples as representing the rest of the faithful when He said (Mark xiii. 37), 'What I say unto you, I say unto all;' and again to His Apostles He said, 'Lo, I am with you alway, unto the end of the world.'

"Inasmuch, then, as this spiritual power is derived from Christ into the ministers of the Church, and spiritual effects derived into us from Christ are set forth under certain sensible signs, it was fitting that this spiritual power *should be delivered to men* under certain sensible signs. Such are certain forms of words, certain

determinate acts, such as the imposition of hands, the giving of a book, &c. which belong to the execution of spiritual power. But whenever any spiritual thing is given under a bodily sign, this may be called a sacrament. Now it is plain that in the bestowal of spiritual power a certain sacrament takes place, which is called the sacrament of Order. And it beseems God's bounteousness, when He confers on any one power to work any effect, to confer likewise such things without which the effect cannot suitably be wrought. Now the administration of sacraments, which is the end of spiritual power, is not suitably wrought unless the ministrant is helped thereto by divine grace; and so in this sacrament, as in the rest, grace is conferred.

"Now as the end of the power of Order is the dispensation of sacraments, and of these the noblest and most perfect is the sacrament of the Eucharist, the power of Order should be considered chiefly in reference to this sacrament, every thing being named from its end. Moreover it seems to belong to the same excellence to give a certain perfection, and to prepare the material to receive it, just as fire has power to transfuse its own form into something else, and to dispose the material to receive that form. The power of Order, then, reaching to this, to make the sacrament of the Body of Christ, and to deliver it to the faithful, that power should reach likewise to rendering the faithful apt and fitting to the perception of this sacrament. And

a Christian is rendered thus apt and fitting, in that he is free from sin: for otherwise he cannot be spiritually united to Christ, to whom he is joined sacramentally in receiving this sacrament. So, then, the power of Order must reach to remission of sins by the dispensation of those sacraments whose end is the remission of sin; and these are baptism and repentance. Thence it was that the Lord gave also the power of remitting sins to the Apostles, to whom He committed the consecration of His Body. Now this power is understood by the keys, of which the Lord said to Peter, 'I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' For the heaven is opened or shut to any one in that he is subject to, or cleansed from, sin: and so the use of these keys is said to be to bind and loose, that is, from sins.

"It would seem, then, that as all grace and pardon in the mystical Body flow from its Head, it is *in essence* the same power by which a Priest can consecrate, and bind and loose, if he has jurisdiction; nor does it differ, save in the mode of its application to different effects. And this double power makes up the *character* of Order, which is indelible.

"Now I conceive that the Royal Supremacy did not assume to itself any thing that belongs *strictly* to the power of Order, and this is the value of Queen Elizabeth's disclaimer in her injunctions, and of those in the thirty-seventh article, there called 'the ministering of God's

word, and of the sacraments.' And so again of Bishop Andrewes, 'Neque vero id agit rex, ne patitur quidem, ut sibi potestas sit, vel incensum adolendi cum Ozia, vel arcam attrectandi cum Oza, quod vos toties tam odiose inculcatis, vestrum illud (quod ad Primatum Pontificium proprie pertinere dicitis), *docendi* munus, vel dubia legis *explicandi*, non assumit: non vel conciones habendi, vel rei sacræ præeundi, vel sacramenta celebrandi; non vel personas sacrandi, vel res; non vel clavium jus, vel censuræ. Verbo dicam: nihil ille sibi, nihil nos illi fas putamus attingere, quæ ad sacerdotale munus spectant, *seu potestatem ordinis consequuntur.*' I said above, which belongs *strictly* to the power of Order, for as the power of the keys cannot be exercised without jurisdiction, we shall see presently what effect the assumption of supreme jurisdiction by the civil authority has on that power.

"(*b*) The second spiritual power above mentioned, that of Jurisdiction, is usually divided into interior and exterior: so called, not because both are not exercised by sensible and outward acts, for both having to deal with men in respect of other men must necessarily be exercised by external acts. But they are so called because one has reference to the sacramental forum, which belongs only to the conscience, and the inward good of souls, and therefore is named *interior jurisdiction.* Now of this I will speak further presently.

"I. But the other power has reference to the

government of the Church in the external forum, by means of judgments, penalties, and whatever else is necessary for the right constitution and government of a human commonwealth. And this is called the power of *exterior jurisdiction.* To this belongs the directive power of enacting laws obligatory on the conscience, which exists in the Church: and to this likewise coercive power, and therefore it is also called the power of the contentious forum.

"Its principle is, that every well-ordered commonwealth needs a power of jurisdiction, as well directive as coercive, in order that it be suitably governed; and that is clear of itself, even by the light of nature; but Christ set up His Church as one Body politic, to be ruled and governed by men, as is plain from the Gospel and the Church's own tradition, and from the Creed, 'I believe in One Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church.'

"There is, then, in this Church a peculiar power for ruling and governing it. This may be proved, first, *by Scripture.* As in our Lord's words to St. Peter, 'I give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven;' and John xxi., 'Feed My sheep;' and again to the Apostles, 'He who heareth you, heareth Me; and he who despiseth you, despiseth Me;' and again, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost. As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you.' Now Christ was sent not only as a teacher, but as a legislator and a governor, as the Psalm prophesied of Him, 'I will give to Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance; Thou shalt rule them with a

rod of iron.' Therefore He sent His Apostles likewise with a sufficient participation of that power. For the reign and rule of Christ in the Church militant were not to terminate with His mortal life, or with His visible and corporal presence on earth, but to last for ever, as was foretold: 'The Lord shall give unto Him the throne of His father David, and He shall reign for ever.' Therefore it was necessary that He should leave on earth a power holding His place, by which this spiritual regimen might continue.

"Secondly, this power is proved *by its use.* For the first act of this power which is read of in Scripture seems to have been the Apostolic decree in Acts xv., 'It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay on you no further burden than these necessary things: to abstain,' &c. For here two human canonical precepts are contained: one imposing this burden as necessary; the other declarative, that from that time nothing else of the ceremonial law of Moses should be observed as necessary. And presently it is said of Paul and Timothy, that 'they delivered them the decrees to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders.' St. Paul, in his Epistles, often mentions this power: as when he says, 'The power which the Lord gave him to edification, and not to destruction;' and so again, 'Will ye that I come to you with a rod?' For a rod signifies the power of government, which, in that it is directive, is called 'a sceptre of right' (Psalm xlv.); and in that it is corrective, is

called 'a rod of iron' (Psalm ii.). Thus St. Augustine explains it, saying in the former place, '"A sceptre of right," which ruleth men. Approach that sceptre; let Christ be your King: let Him rule you with that sceptre, lest He crush you. For that is an inflexible rod.' And in the latter, 'A rod of iron is inflexible justice.' 'Some He rules, others he crushes: the spiritual He ruleth, the carnal He crusheth.' Such, then, was the rod of St. Paul, of which a share was given him by Christ; and he uses that rod of iron where he says, 'I, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already . . with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ . . to deliver such an one to Satan.' But of the 'sceptre of right' St. Paul speaks in Acts xx.: 'Take heed . . to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, to feed the church of God.' And to the faithful he says, 'Obey them that have the rule over you, and be subject unto them.' And again he says, 'Against an elder receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses,' where he supposes in the Church a proper judgment and tribunal.

"And, thirdly, that power which is shown thus in Scripture as begun, is continued on *in History* through all ages of the Church in diocesan, archiepiscopal, and primatial governments, in provincial and general councils, and borne witness to every where by the Church's rulers and writers.

"And the principle of all this is manifest, that the Church is one mystical body of Christ, one

divinely constituted kingdom. Now a kingdom cannot be maintained without a power to rule it, in proportion to it. Thus, as one out of a multitude, St. Epiphanius says (tom. i. p. 118), 'For the throne of David, and the royal seat, is the priesthood in the holy Church, which dignity, *both royal and high-priestly*, the Lord having joined together in one, hath bestowed it on His holy Church, translating unto it the throne of David, which faileth not for ever.'

"This power is spiritual and supernatural, requiring indeed and presupposing orders, but not given in them indelibly as their character, for it is capable of increase or diminution in individuals, and exists in different degrees in those who have the same rank of orders. It can also be taken away, and given again, which is not the case with any power given by consecration.

"Now, from all that has been said, it is plain that this spiritual power of government is quite distinct from the temporal. And that, first, and chiefly, in its *end;* for the end of the temporal power is to preserve the peace and honour of the commonwealth, as St. Paul says, bidding us pray for kings, 'that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.' Whereas the end of the ecclesiastical power is the attainment of eternal salvation, as St. Paul says, 'for the perfecting of the saints,' and, 'Obey them that have the rule over you; for they watch for your souls as they that must give account.'

"Another difference is in its *origin*, inasmuch as the temporal power derives its origin from God as the author of nature, through the medium of natural reason, and so, considered in itself, is of natural right; but in so far as it is seated in a king or in a parliament, it is of human right. Whereas the ecclesiastical power is of positive Divine right, and the special promise and grant of Christ. 'I will give to thee the keys.' 'Feed My sheep.' 'As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you.' For as the end to which this power is directed, and the acts and means by which it subsists, are above natural and human strength, so must the power itself have its origin above human or natural right. In fact, these powers differ, as the material and spiritual, the natural and supernatural, the earthly and heavenly.

"Once more: not only in their *end* and *origin* do they differ, but in their *subjects;* the one being, kings and other rulers of the temporal state; the others, the rulers in God's Church, according to the gradations of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. This may be proved by the authority of Scripture. For this spiritual power, derived from the direct and special grant of Christ, is *not* found, in the New Testament, given to those persons who were temporal kings; and *is* given to Peter, and the rest of the Apostles; *is* found to be used by St. Paul, and other bishops. For before there were in the Church temporal kings, there were therein pastors with true spiritual

jurisdiction to rule the Church; therefore this power does not of itself depend on the royal power, nor is joined with it by any power of it.

"Such is then the right of spiritual jurisdiction belonging to the rulers of the Church, by the positive grant of Christ, with which they were invested in different degrees according to their hierarchical rank, and of which the highest and most complete example, to say the least, was seen in the See of St. Peter, through an uninterrupted succession of fifteen centuries down to the time of Henry VIII. That See, as the source and centre of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, then received appeals from the whole Church; and by a necessary consequence it was the Supreme Judge of doctrine; for it is impossible in practice to dissever supremacy of jurisdiction from carrying with it the supreme judgment of doctrine. Did then Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth deny this power of spiritual jurisdiction to exist in the Church? By no means. Did they think it undesirable, and therefore to be abandoned by the Church? As little. They so fully admitted it, and so entirely liked it, that they seized upon it, and annexed it to the imperial crown of their realm. That which in end, in origin, and in subjects, was entirely distinct from the civil power, that which sprung from the gift of Christ to St. Peter and the apostolic body, they appropriated as an engine of temporal government. They would have their crown supreme not only in temporal matters, as it had always

been, but in spiritual also: have both the human and the divine power flow forth from their own persons.

"I can well understand the extreme unwillingness of Churchmen to admit the real state of things as existing in fact among us: viz. that the civil power is made the root and source of spiritual jurisdiction. To all those who have been brought up in, or who have attained to, any knowledge of the Church's spiritual constitution, or of its history during the fifteen hundred years preceding this claim, to all again who believe that there is one visible Church, not in name, but in reality, and that it is one divine imperium, I will not ask what this claim must appear, either by the light of reason, or by that of Revelation. Nevertheless, all lawyers are agreed that such, so far as law goes, is the actual constitution of the Church of England. Bishop Gibson, more than a hundred years ago, interpreting the 37th article, says of it: 'The Queen hath the chief power and government, Ecclesiastical and Civil, which is not to be extended to ministering in the Church, *but only to ecclesiastical jurisdiction.*' What the Queen's Supremacy is in civil matters, we all know. All courts of justice are held in her name; all laws derive their force from her confirmation; the Supremacy means, that she is the *source* of civil power. So must it be likewise in spiritual matters, always excepting what belongs strictly to the power of Order, which Elizabeth expressly declined,—

she is the *source* of the Church's jurisdiction in foro exteriori. And Dr. Cardwell, in the year 1839, says: 'It would appear from the principal act of Queen Mary (1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8), and the statutes repealed by it, that the Pope's jurisdiction in England was comprised under the five following heads: 1. He was acknowledged as chief Bishop of the Christian Church, with authority to reform and redress heresies, errors, and abuses within the same. 2. To him belonged the institution or confirmation of Bishops elect. 3. He could grant to clergymen licenses of non-residence, and permission to hold more than one benefice. 4. He dispensed in the canonical impediments of matrimony. 5. He received appeals from the spiritual courts.' So that the Supremacy of the crown in this respect may be summed up in the words of Hooker, after the following manner: 'There is required an universal power which reacheth over all, importing supreme authority of government over all courts, all judges, all causes; the operation of which power is as well to strengthen, maintain, and uphold particular jurisdictions, which haply might else be of small effect, as also to remedy that which they are not able to help, and to redress that wherein they at any time do otherwise than they ought to do. *This power being some time in the Bishop of Rome*, who by sinister practices had drawn it into his hands, *was for just considerations by public consent annexed unto the king's royal seat and crown.* From whence the authors

of reformation would translate it into their national assemblies or synods; which synods are the only help which they think lawful to use against such evils in the Church as particular jurisdictions are not sufficient to redress. In which case our laws have provided that the king's supereminent authority and power shall serve: as, namely, when the whole ecclesiastical state, or the principal persons therein, do need visitation and reformation; when in any part of the Church errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, enormities are grown, which men in their several jurisdictions either do not or cannot help: *whatsoever any spiritual authority or power* (such as legates from the See of Rome would exercise) *hath done or might heretofore have done for the remedy of those evils in lawful sort* (that is to say without the violation of the law of God, or nature, in the deed done), *as much in every degree our laws have fully granted that the king for ever may do, not only by setting ecclesiastical synods on work, that the thing may be their act and the king their motion unto it, but by commissioners few or many, who having the king's letters patent may on the virtue thereof execute the premises as agents in the right not of their own peculiar and ordinary, but of his supereminent power*' (Hooker, vol. iii. p. 543).

"The difference between the regale as exercised by the earlier or later Norman princes, and that supremacy which was settled on the crown in 1559, is a difference not of *degree* but of *kind*.

There are a vast number of mixed causes in which the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction may seem to come in contact, and in which, unless wisely and considerately wielded, they will clash. Here such princes as Edward I. and Edward III. would be jealous of their temporal authority being infringed — but that they claimed to themselves supremacy of spiritual jurisdiction might about as reasonably be contended as that St. Louis in France did so, whose jealous care of his temporal prerogative is equally well known, and who yet has been canonised by the Roman Church. The same prerogative in spiritual matters which was claimed in right of their crown by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, belonged, so far as it was legitimate, to the crowns of France, Spain, Germany, Portugal, and all the princes of Europe. Which of them has ever been accused of annexing to his throne a spiritual supremacy? Louis XIV. pushed to their furthest extent what are called the Gallican liberties; but will any one say that he claimed to give to his Bishops their spiritual jurisdiction, or to be the supreme judge of doctrine? Is there not the greatest possible difference between the occasional clashing of two powers, one founded in men's belief and opinion on the special grant of Christ, and the other strong in material force and representing the natural right of society to govern itself, wherein the latter would often commit acts of injustice on the former; between such a state of things, I say, on the one side, under which fall the acts of our

own ante-reformation princes, and of the French, Spanish, and Portuguese kings, and the German emperors in all times; and on the other side, the settled and undisputed combination of the two powers of jurisdiction, civil and spiritual, in one head? The latter has been taken to be the true account of the state of things among ourselves by all continental writers from the beginning to the present day. And all our history bears witness that this is a correct judgment.

"Does such a state of things allow the existence of the Church of Christ at all as one spiritual empire all over the earth? Or does it make it 'only the ministry which the secular power uses for teaching such religious doctrines, duties, and observances as the State from time to time shall choose'? I suppose the answer to this question will carry with it the answer to another, Is it Christian or Antichristian?

"Had the intent been simply to take away a foreign Court of Appeal, and to make all spiritual causes determinable in this country, the obvious way should have been to allow no appeal from the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Primate of *all* England. This would in effect have made him a Patriarch, so far as British rule was concerned: but the civil power was as far as possible from having any such intent: it coveted and it seized the supreme spiritual jurisdiction—the whole Papal Supremacy,—for itself. For it will be seen that this supremacy, as defined above by Dr. Cardwell, from Dr. Lingard, consisted in

functions all springing from the power of Jurisdiction, and not from the power of Order.

"Nor in the world's history hitherto has any idea been more thoroughly worked out in act, and carried forth into every possible consequence, than the idea of the civil power being the source of spiritual jurisdiction in the Church of England. Since 1559, this may be called the basis on which all the relations of the State to the Church have been settled. The first act of the State to the nascent communion typified and summed up in a wonderful and prophetic way the whole regimen for three hundred years. Our actual Episcopate is derived from Parker: it possesses whatever jurisdiction he had, neither more nor less. The following is Mr. Lewis's account: I am not aware that any facts which he has stated are incorrect —and if not, I am sure they are so important that they ought not to be *shirked*, but an answer given to them, if an answer can be found.

"'The Catholic Bishops, at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, were deprived of their Sees for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy, the Bishop of Llandaff excepted: to him, therefore, with certain other Bishops, the Queen issued a Commission to confirm the election of Parker, and to consecrate him to be Archbishop of Canterbury.

"'The first of these prelates, that is, the Bishop of Llandaff, and the last, Bale, Bishop of Ossory, are described as in actual possession of their sees. The others were such as had been deprived of their bishoprics, and had not yet obtained posses-

sion of any, or were suffragans, and consequently had no jurisdiction in the province of Canterbury, but such as was delegated to them, from time to time, by those whose suffragans they were. The deprived prelates were now elected to bishoprics, except one; but their election had not been confirmed, consequently they had no jurisdiction of their own. When the day appointed for the confirmation of Parker was come, the Bishops who appeared to perform the ceremonial were, Barlow, Bishop elect of Chichester; Story, elect of Hereford; Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter; and John, suffragan of Bedford: not one of these Bishops was in actual possession of his See, and the suffragan of Bedford depended for his authority on the allowance or commission of his superior.

"'The Queen, therefore, in her Commission to these prelates inserted this unusual clause:

"'Supplentes nihilominus, suprema authoritate nostra regia, ex mero motu ac certa scientia nostris, si quid aut in his, quæ juxta mandatum nostrum prædictum per vos fient, aut in vobis aut vestrum aliquo, conditione, statu, facultate vestris ad præmissa perficienda desit aut deerit eorum, quæ per statuta hujus regni, *aut per leges ecclesiasticas* in hac parte requiruntur, aut necessaria sunt, temporis ratione et rerum necessitate id postulante.'

"'To this clause in their Commission the prelates make particular reference in the sentence of confirmation. The election of "the venerable man, Mr. Matthew Parker, we confirm," they

say, "by the supreme authority of the said most serene lady, our Queen, committed unto us in this behalf: supplying by the supreme royal authority, of the Queen's mere motion and certain knowledge, delegated to us, all defects in this election, as well in those things done by us, and proceeded with according to the commandment given us, or that are or shall be in ourselves, or in the condition, state, or capacity, of any one of us for this performance" (Bramh. 3. 202). Parker was consecrated December 17, 1559, by Barlow, assisted by Scory, John of Bedford, and Miles Coverdale. Barlow and Scory were afterwards confirmed in their respective bishoprics by Parker, whom they had confirmed in his before, and Coverdale never resumed his episcopal functions. Supposing that the consecrators of Parker were themselves Bishops, validly ordained, Parker's consecration was good, *so far as the episcopal character is concerned.* It appears, however, that his consecrators had no authority to consecrate him from any Bishop in the actual use of his jurisdiction: which makes the act *defective in the point of authority.* They had no more right to consecrate an Archbishop of Canterbury than they had to consecrate one for Milan. In their own right they had none: by delegation from ecclesiastical superiors they had none. But they proceeded to confirm Parker's election by virtue of the Queen's writ; and whatever authority they received thereby, that they conferred on him, they had none other: and so they leave it on

record that they confirmed their future metropolitan under a civil writ, by which their service and condition were made available, and their clear deficiencies duly supplied.

"'Whatsoever authority to govern Christian men was received by Parker, that authority, and no more, has he transmitted to his successors; it is now shared by the living Bishops of the Anglican Church, and whatever it be, it was derived' (*i. e.* so far as the question of jurisdiction is concerned) 'from the civil power, which he seems to have acknowledged in his act of homage, as we saw before. This consecration was questioned, and doubts were made about it, and the following consecrations, whose validity depends upon it. In order to allay people's perplexities, an act of parliament was passed, 8 Eliz. c. 2, to pronounce "That all acts and things heretofore had, made or done by any person or persons in or about any consecration, confirmation, or investing of any person or persons elected to the office or dignity of any Archbishop or Bishop within this realm, or within any other the Queen's Majesty's dominions or countries, by virtue of the Queen's Majesty's letters patent or commission, since the beginning of her Majesty's reign, be, and shall be by authority of this present parliament, declared, judged and deemed, at and from every of the several times of the doing thereof, good and perfect to all respects and purposes; any matter or thing that can or may be objected to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding."

"'If it be within the power of the civil authority to give strength or completeness to what is or ought to be divine, then the confirmation or consecration of Parker cannot be questioned.

"'The legislative body of the kingdom has not only decided that the consecrations made according to the form of ordination published in the reign of King Edward VI. shall be good, but has also given some reasons for its sentence. These reasons are, that Henry VIII. had "the supreme power, jurisdiction, order, rule, and authority over the estate ecclesiastical," and that this same power was "annexed to the imperial crown of this realm," with which Queen Elizabeth was "lawfuly invested," who, having in her Majesty's "order and disposition all the said jurisdictions, powers, and authorities over the estate ecclesiastical and temporal," had caused divers men to be made bishops. That she had "further, for the avoiding of all ambiguities and questions that might be objected against the lawful confirmations, investing, and consecrations of the said archbishops and bishops," not only used such words and sentences as were accustomed to be used in the reigns of her father and brother, "but also hath used and put in her Majesty's letters patent *divers other general words and sentences*, whereby her Highness, *by her supreme power and authority, hath dispensed with all causes* or doubts of any imperfection or disability that can or may in any wise be objected against the same." Here we have the meaning of that singular clause to

which Barlow and his assistants made such careful reference. The canonical difficulties to Parker's confirmation were removed by a dispensation from the civil power.'

"Mr. Lewis's next remark seems much to be noted: 'Before the consecration of Parker, the English prelates might perhaps have insisted *on their original jurisdiction*, and, disregarding the statutes, claimed their authority, because they had been duly confirmed by prelates who had entered canonically into their respective sees. But in this case, there is no shadow of ecclesiastical rule; the confirming bishops were unconfirmed themselves for eleven days after Parker's confirmation; and on the day of his consecration were not certain that even their election to their bishoprics would be allowed by the Queen. They consecrated Parker, December 17; but the royal assent to their election was not given till the next day. This confirmation of Parker was made by those who had no authority to make it; they were without any recognised jurisdiction. Let it be allowed that he (Barlow) had been duly consecrated; still he was disabled from executing his functions: he and his colleagues had no jurisdiction.—On the supposition that they were true bishops, they had power to administer the sacraments, but in no particular place, nor to any particular persons; they were bishops, but they had no subjects: all acts of jurisdiction performed by them under these circumstances would be *null*—all acts of their order *irregular*. Supposing

them to be true bishops, nay, to have been consecrated by the Supreme Pontiff himself, and under no canonical disabilities, they could not confer orders, which should be valid in respect of execution: as they had no jurisdiction themselves, they could confer none upon Parker, and that defect must still inhere in Parker's successors; time cannot cure it. Original sin is not done away with by our distance from Adam, but by baptism. This defect of jurisdiction in the original consecration cannot be supplied by length of time—quod ab initio nullum est, tractu temporis non convalescit' (*Notes on the Royal Supremacy*, p. 70-6).

"2. And as Archbishop Parker's jurisdiction was an emanation from that annexed to the Crown, so the Crown thought fit, about eighteen years later, to withdraw his jurisdiction from Parker's successor, Grindal. This prelate was not as zealous as the Queen wished him to be against the Puritans, so she suspended him. In vain did twelve of his suffragan bishops petition the Queen for his restoration, in a Latin letter still extant, wherein they assure her Majesty of their undoubted loyalty, by the fact that they should not be allowed to survive her a single day. 'Nos, *quos ecclesiæ gubernationi præfecisti*, cum a tua majestate discesserimus, nihil habemus humanum, quod speremus vel ad unum diem posse imminentem cervicibus at capitibus nostris calamitatem avertere' (Cardwell, *Annals*, i. 391). In vain Convocation pleaded for him; he remain-

ed for years suspended, and had at last prepared his resignation, when death carried him off.

"3. This, it may be said, was heat of Tudor blood; but then Charles I., under Laud's guidance, suspended Archbishop Abbot in like fashion. He issued 'a commission to sequester Archbishop Abbot from all his ecclesiastical offices and jurisdiction.' It ran thus: 'Charles, by the grace of God, &c. Know ye that we, reposing special trust and confidence in your approved wisdoms, learning, and integrity, have nominated, authorised, and appointed, and do by these presents nominate, authorise, and appoint you, the said George Lord Bishop of London, Richard Lord Bishop of Durham, John Lord Bishop of Rochester, John Lord Bishop of Oxford, and William Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, or any four, three, or two of you, to do, execute, and perform all and every those acts, matters, and things, any way touching or concerning the power, jurisdiction, or authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury in causes or matters ecclesiastical, as amply, fully, and effectually, to all intents and purposes, as the said Archbishop might have done. And we do hereby command you, and every of you, to attend, perform, and execute this our royal pleasure in and touching the premises, until we shall declare our will and pleasure to the contrary. And we do further hereby will and command the said Archbishop of Canterbury quietly and without interruption to permit and suffer you, the said George, &c.,

any four, three, or two of you, to execute and perform this our commission, according to our royal pleasure thereby signified' (Cardwell, *Annals*, ii. 165-8).

"4. But the most remarkable act perhaps of the royal supremacy extant, is the absolving this same Archbishop Abbot, at a former period, from the canonical irregularity of having killed a man by accident when hunting at Bramzill Park. 'The occurrence and its consequences were announced by the Lord Keeper Williams' (then Bishop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York) to the Duke of Buckingham in the following manner: "His grace, upon this accident, is by the common law of England to forfeit all his estate unto his Majesty; and by the canon law, which is in force with us, irregular ipso facto, and so suspended from all ecclesiastical function, until he be again restored by his superior; *which I take it is the King's Majesty, in this rank and order of ecclesiastical jurisdictions.*"' 'The King,' says Bishop Hacket, 'saw that whether the person of the Archbishop were tainted by this act or not, yet his metropolitical function was unsettled in many men's opinions; he heard that the acts of spiritual courts were unsped, and came to no end, till sentence were pronounced one way or other *by the supreme authority.* Therefore a commission was directed from his Majesty to ten persons, to meet together for this purpose about the beginning of October.' The result of their deliberations was, that the King appointed a com-

mission of bishops, Andrewes being one of them, and by their means 'assoiled the Archbishop from all irregularities, scandal, or infamation, pronouncing him to be capable to use all metropolitical authority' (Cardwell, *Annals*, ii. 136). The royal decree runs: 'De gratia nostra speciali, et ex auctoritate nostra regia suprema et ecclesiastica qua fungimur, — plenam concedimus facultatem et potestatem per præsentes,— quatenus—cum præfato reverendissimo patre superomni et omnimodo juris vel facti defectu, censura, sive pœna aliqua canonica et ecclesiastica, præsertim vero irregularitate omni, seu irregularitatis nota, (si quæ forsitan ratione præmissorum contracta fuit, vel quibusdam contracta esse videantur,) utque in susceptis ordinibus et jurisdictionibus secundum concreditam sibi ratione ordinis et archiepiscopatus sui potestatem libere ministrare, frui, exercere, et gaudere valeat, ad majorum cautelam dispensetis.' Collier (ix. 378), who observes in loco, 'By this instrument, the canons, in case there was need, are overruled and dispensed with. The force of Abbot's character was revived, and he is fully restored to the exercise of his functions. This is a wonderful relief from the Crown; and supposes a patriarchal at least, if not a papal authority, vested in the King.' (vol. vii. 418.)

"5. What boots it, after this, to mention the deposition of Archbishop Sancroft by Queen Mary II., or the numberless acts of modern times erecting bishoprics, altering the jurisdictions of exist-

ing bishopries, naming commissions to which supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the whole Church for certain purposes is given, appointing a supreme court for heresy, and in one case, which is without a parallel, assigning Syria, Chaldea, Egypt, and Abyssinia to be the limits of the 'spiritual jurisdiction' of a certain bishop. These acts in former times were not reputed tyrannical, at least the Church herself never complained of them, and they have been borne very patiently in the present day, until at last the supreme ecclesiastical court—deriving its jurisdiction from the civil power—has thought fit to annul an article of the creed. There is then no other way of interpreting the acts of three hundred years, manifold as they are, and yet stamped with one aspect, but this, that they have indeed their proper rationale, which is, that the supremacy of spiritual jurisdiction over the Church, by many Christians supposed to have been conferred by our Lord on St. Peter and his successors, has, so far as regards the British dominions, been transferred by Act of Parliament, or, as others say, in virtue of a prerogative always latent in the crown—though why in this rather than in other crowns does not appear — to the sovereign for the time being of these realms.

"II. Let us now proceed to say a few words on the other division of the power of spiritual Jurisdiction, that in foro interno.

"Jurisdiction in foro interno is the lawful use of the power of remitting sins upon confession of

them. This power *itself*, as we have seen above, is part of the power of Order, which theologians divide into two, that which is over the true Body of Christ to consecrate it, and that which is over the mystical Body of Christ for the sanctification of the faithful and their deliverance from sin.

"But though this power is in itself a part of Order, and of the sacerdotal character, which is indelible, as being given by consecration, yet *the lawful exercise* of this power belongs to Jurisdiction. For, by the words used at the consecration of a priest, 'Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins thou dost remit, they are remitted, and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained,' a true power is given of itself, and in its own order, sufficient to remit the sins of those put under him, when he has them; but by these words jurisdiction or subjects are not given. The power, in its own nature, stretches to the absolution of all, and therefore these words of our Lord, repeated by the bishop in his person, are so indeterminate and universal; but the use of that power is limited according to the jurisdiction possessed by the priest, and this must come by a further grant from his superior.

"We are in practice very familiar with this distinction; *e.g.* a man is ordained a priest by a bishop, and from that time forth he is as much a priest as any one can be, yet he can perform no priestly act involving spiritual jurisdiction, without cure of souls, delegated to him either permanently, or at least during the performance of that

act. A bishop who had resigned a colonial see was lately resident in a country parish, yet, though superior in power of Order to the parish-priest, he could perform no one act in that parish involving Jurisdiction save by the permission of the parish-priest.

"Or, again, the analogy of temporal government will illustrate this law of the divine commonwealth. A man holds the rank of captain in the navy, as another does that of priest; but as the former does not therefore hold a right to command any particular ship, or seamen, without a special commission thereto, which may continue or be withdrawn, without affecting his rank as captain, so neither has the latter authority to exercise the power of the keys over this or that person unless he has legitimate jurisdiction, *i. e.* the office of a spiritual superior, over him.

"Even the material key can only open its proper lock, nor can any active virtue take effect save on its proper matter. Now a person is made the proper matter of the power of Order by means of Jurisdiction, and so no one can use the keys upon one over whom he has no jurisdiction.

"According to all this, for absolution from sin after sacramental confession a two-fold power is required, the power of Order and the power of Jurisdiction. The first is equally in all priests; but not the second, which descends from superiors to inferiors, and must be used according to the limitation imposed by the superior.

"And there is another most important distinc-

tion between acts flowing from Order, and acts flowing from Jurisdiction. Acts flowing from Order, though done wrongly and illicitly, are yet, when done, *valid;* but acts flowing from jurisdiction, if done upon those over whom the doer has no jurisdiction, are absolutely *invalid* and *null.* So that all absolution pronounced by a priest over a person not spiritually subject to him, is utterly without force. And a person cannot make himself subject to another at his own will, for this power descends from above, and does not ascend from below.

"Let us see the effect of this. A bishop has jurisdiction over his own diocese: he imparts a portion of that jurisdiction to every priest to whom he gives the cure of souls; and in that cure of souls are comprised all means necessary for their well-being, of which the hearing confessions and giving absolution is assuredly one. Consequently all parish-priests may be said to have ordinary jurisdiction for this purpose *over their own flock*, but not over others.

"Again, a bishop may delegate such power of using the keys to any priest over any, or over all, persons in his diocese; for, they being his own spiritual subjects, he can impart a portion of the pastoral care over them to any person duly qualified, *i. e.* by sacerdotal orders, whom he pleases.

"But in default of either ordinary or delegated jurisdiction, a priest cannot, by the mere power of Order, hear confession and give absolution;

and if he does so, his absolution will be *null* and *void.*

"These are not rules and principles of the modern Church, or of the Western Church merely, but of the ancient and Catholic Church. For many hundred years this power of absolution seems to have been exercised immediately by the bishop, or by priests living in common with him, and under his immediate superintendence. And when, in process of time, the bishop communicated a part of his pastoral charge to priests living at a distance from him, this law of jurisdiction was universally observed.

"Now all power which cannot issue into act save on the presupposition of certain rules depends on the power which makes those rules. But the priest cannot absolve and bind unless the jurisdiction of a superior in him be presupposed, by which those whom he absolves are subject to him. But he may consecrate any matter determinated to that end by Christ, nor is any thing more for this required of the necessity of the sacrament.

"But one exception there is to this necessity of jurisdiction, by the universal practice of the Church from the beginning, or rather in this particular case the practice has given the jurisdiction, viz. that any priest may absolve any penitent from any sin in articulo mortis.

"All this doctrine may be summed up thus: All spiritual power of the sacerdotal character is given together with a certain consecration, and

therefore the keys are given with Order; but the use of the keys requires its proper matter, which is a people made subject by jurisdiction, and therefore one before he has jurisdiction has the keys, but has not the act of using them.

"A consequence of this is, that while in all schismatics, heretics, excommunicated, suspended, or degraded persons, the *power* of the keys remains as to its *essence*, yet the *use* of the keys is barred through defect of matter. For, the use of the keys requiring superiority in the user over him on whom it is used, the proper matter on which the use of the keys is exercised is a spiritual subject; and since it is through the order of the Church that one is subject to another, therefore a former subject may be subtracted from his obedience by those who have the rule in the Church. Whence, as the Church deprives heretics, schismatics, and such like, by withdrawing their subjects, either simply or partially, so far as they are deprived they cannot have the use of the keys.

"And now for the bearing of the Royal Supremacy on all this. We have seen how it seized upon and appropriated the full Papal Supremacy as to jurisdiction in foro externo; did it also lay claim to jurisdiction in foro interno? My belief is, that it troubled itself very little about the matter, and, considering it as depending on the power of Order, which it is, and on that alone, which it is not, was willing enough that, so long as the whole outward jurisdiction was allowed

to flow from itself, the inward might accompany those whom it selected for its agents. I suppose, moreover, that for fifty years after Elizabeth's accession sacramental confession was very little practised in the Church of England; by some *âmes d'élite*, like Hooker's, perhaps, but never by the mass of Christ's poor. When, in the times of James and Charles, our divines had risen to higher notions of the Church and its functions, they supposed this power of inward spiritual jurisdiction to reside in bishops and priests.

"But in the mean time a certain consequence had not been heeded. The supreme power which bestows one part of jurisdiction bestows the other likewise. Thus, if the civil power take a county from one see and give it to another, not only the power of external jurisdiction but that of internal likewise is thus attempted to be conveyed from one person to another—one bishop to another. For the parish-priests derive their jurisdiction from the bishop, and the bishop from the power that gave him such a county for a part of his see; and if that power have by the law of God and the grant of Christ no authority to convey spiritual jurisdiction at all to the bishop, it will follow that all spiritual acts involving jurisdiction done in such county are null and void.

"Looking therefore at Christ's kingdom as a real thing, not a state creation, not an engine of temporal government, not a toy for statesmen to play with, nor a treasury from which they are to draw rewards for their followers (O, shame and

unspeakable disgrace that such things can be said, and so truly said, that the mere saying them sounds like a libel on existing powers!); looking at Christ's Church once more as His kingdom, not *of* this world but *in* it, nothing less than inextricable confusion, than the rendering dubious all spiritual powers most necessary for the soul's good, than the reducing minds in proportion as they are tender and conscientious into the uttermost doubt about all holy things,—can arise from the claim of the civil power any where to be the source of spiritual jurisdiction.

"That claim—let us as Englishmen, as Christians, think of it well—exists now—and in past time has existed in one communion only on the face of the earth calling itself Christian, viz. the Anglican Church, and on the part of one sovereign only calling himself Christian, the sovereign named the Defender of the Faith.

"Let us see the two main grounds on which it is based.

"1. It is based on the denial that the Church of Christ is one mystical body—one simple kingdom dispersed throughout the whole world, governed by spiritual officers, who derive their title and their power so to govern from the express grant of our Lord to his Apostles.

"Instead of this it mixes up the Church of Christ, in each nation where it may be locally situate, with the order and jurisdiction of temporal government: yet these are two things in their end,

their origin, and their subjects essentially distinct, as has been shown.

"The highest notion of the Church to which it rises would seem to be that of the synagogue under the old law. Now the Jewish Church was national only, and therefore no standard for a Catholic Church; and again, it was typical, both its kings and its priests prefiguring in their office and functions our Lord—so that to argue from the power of godly kings in Israel to the like power of godly kings in the Church of Christ, would be, as has well been said, to overlook the fact that our Lord has come in the flesh, and has taken up into His own Person both the priesthood of Aaron and the royal power of David, and derived forth from that Person, for the government of His Church, a new power embracing both.

"2. It is based on the further similar denial that there is no proper priesthood in the Church of Christ, and therefore no special power to govern it, beyond that which is in the civil magistrate, or in any community, by right of nature, for the preservation of order.

"It seems indeed, but only seems, to escape from this by urging the distinction between actions requiring the power of Order, and those requiring only Jurisdiction. It is said that the sovereign may exercise every act of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by himself, and has, unto this, supreme power, and so that this is sufficient for him to hold a spiritual primacy, though he can-

not exercise of himself the other actions which require a power of Order. But this is especially opposed to Christ's institution; for it was His will that the Church should be ruled by those whom He made the chief ministers of the word of God and of the sacraments, that is by bishops, in whom the power of Order exists in excellency. Moreover it is sufficiently absurd for the Church's supreme governor not to be able to exercise in his own person the chief acts which are directed not only to the worship of God, but to the sanctification of the faithful. For in civil government inferior magistrates can do nothing in respect to that which their power has for its end, which the sovereign cannot do in higher degree in order to the same end. Much more then in the Christian commonwealth, ecclesiastical power, whether of Order or Jurisdiction, being directed to a spiritual end and the sanctification of souls, these two powers ought to be so arranged in reference to each other as to be joined in the supreme head of the Church in all their perfection and excellency.

"If these are the *grounds*, what are the *results?*

"I have supposed throughout that the orders of the Church of England are valid, and untouched by the operation of the Royal Supremacy—for this is another and a very difficult question, and I wish to take only what is indubitable—but if unto the right use of Orders valid Jurisdiction is required, for the Archbishop as Primate, for the Bishop as Diocesan, for the parish-

priest as incumbent, for sinful souls who need absolving, for anxious souls who need comforting, and for God's blessing on all acts of Christian ministry,—and if acts flowing from jurisdiction, but done without jurisdiction, which as much *by the Word of God* as by the tradition of the Church comes from the grant of Christ and not from the temporal power—if such acts are absolutely *null* and *invalid*, I leave for others to trace in this respect the result of the Royal Supremacy on the Church of England.

"One other result must be briefly mentioned. Supremacy of spiritual jurisdiction carries with it necessarily the right and the burden of supreme judgment as to doctrine. The act of 1 Eliz. c. 1, mentions the power of naming commissioners to judge of heresies—those who judge of heresies must define truth: and Hooker is careful to say after mentioning heresy, 'whatever any spiritual authority or power hath done or might heretofore have done for the remedy of these evils in lawful sort, as much in every degree our laws have fully granted that the king for ever may do, not only by setting ecclesiastical synods on work, that the thing may be their act and the king their motion unto it, but by the commissioners few or many, who having the king's letters patent may in the virtue thereof execute the premises as agent, in the right not of their own peculiar and ordinary but of his supereminent power.' Thus the sovereign is not bound to act by synod or convocation—why

should he? It was the very idea of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth to put the Supremacy in his single person—his confirmation alone gives their force to canon or dogma, according to this idea. In short the clavis potentiæ and the clavis scientiæ—the universal power of government in Christ's Church, the power to rule, to distribute, suspend or restore jurisdiction, and the power to define verities of the faith and to interpret holy Scripture—this power, with liberty to exercise it 'by commissioners few or many,' and, it may be added, lay or clerical, believers or unbelievers, has descended by act of Parliament, or a prerogative inherent in their crown and quite unique in the history of the world, together with their ample temporal dominion, on the shoulders of the kings and queens of England.

"But what is the effect of this on the status of the Church of England? It is that the actual bond of her existence—her characteristic as a religious communion—that which makes her a whole—is the right of the civil power, now lately exercised, to be the supreme judge of her doctrine."

Thus the supposed patriarchal constitution, on the possession of which I had rested for the defence of the Church of England, was turned at once into a supremacy of the civil power, which throughout the pamphlet just cited I prove to be antichristian. And so my *Defence* as a positive standing-ground had been completely swept away

by the revelation of that civil supremacy which the Gorham judgment exhibited in action. For as soon as it was made clear that what held the Church of England together, that is, the derivation of spiritual jurisdiction from the civil power, was an antichristian principle, and this thesis I established in the tract above quoted, what was there left to defend? However, I took every precaution against a mistake which was in my power. I published this pamphlet in March 1850, and sent a copy of it to yourself, and a number of friends, among whom were two judges, with the intent that if I had misinterpreted the civil supremacy over the Church of England, you or they would set me right. From no one did I receive publicly or privately any intimation that I had mistaken its character or exaggerated its import. Six months later I came to a final conclusion, and gave as my reason for it the book entitled *The See of St. Peter the Rock of the Church, the Source of Jurisdiction, and the Centre of Unity.* In the preface to this book I draw out the connection between my past writings and the definitive action then taken, and after referring to the immense importance of the civil supremacy, as constituting in fact the Church of England to be what it is, I proceed to deal with that which, negatively, had prevented my being a Catholic. And I think that in it I went over the whole ground of my first

book, and plucked out every root of error contained in it. For the book treats of the Primacy, in the first section, as an existing power; in the second, as based upon the express warrant of Scripture; in the third, it defines the end and office of the Primacy; in the fourth, sketches in what its power consists; in the fifth, it gives the Church's witness to the Primacy, ranged under seven heads, which are, (1) a General Supremacy of the Roman See over the whole Church—a Supremacy exactly the same in principle with that which is now claimed; (2) the grounding of this Supremacy on the attribution of Matt. xvi. 18, Luke xxii. 31, and John xxi. 15, in a special sense to the Pope, as successor of St. Peter; (3) the original derivation of Episcopal Jurisdiction from the person of Peter, and its perpetual fountain in the See of Rome, as representing him; (4) the Papal Supremacy over the East, acknowledged by its own rulers and councils before the separation; (5) the Pope's attitude to Councils, as indicating his rank; (6) his confirmation of Councils; (7) the necessity of communion with the Pope. The testimonies cited under these seven heads answer incidentally all the historical objections and difficulties which are scattered through the first book. This answer, though incidental, is radical, because it cuts away the very root on which such objections grow. For

instance, the objection which most constantly occurred in the first book, which ran indeed all through it, so as to form the main point of aggression on the claim of Rome, is a supposed antagonism between the idea of Primacy and Supremacy. The second book shows by a large induction of testimonies, occupying twenty pages, that the idea of Primacy and Supremacy is exactly the same; that the Supremacy now claimed and allowed is exactly identical with the Primacy as exercised by St. Leo at the Council of Chalcedon, which the first book set forth as the ideal of the Church's true constitution. Again, the first book had dwelt much on the denial of the Supremacy by the Eastern Church; the second shows how entirely the Papal Supremacy over the East had been acknowledged by the rulers and councils of the East before the separation. And let the positive proof for the Primacy or Supremacy given in these five sections be fairly considered, and I think it will be found that no great institution existing in the world stands upon a firmer basis, or has less alleged against it.

The two concluding sections contrast the action of the Primacy of St. Peter in the Catholic Church with the action of the Royal Supremacy in the Anglican Church, and the effects of the one with the effects of the other. And here I must repeat, what I have already said, that the

Primacy, as set forth in the first five sections, had entirely cut away the standing-ground which I had imagined for the Church of England, namely, that it was governed in accordance with the Council of Nicæa, by its own Bishops and Metropolitans, allowing the successor of St. Peter to hold St. Peter's place. But in these two sections this supposed standing-ground itself is shown to be most opposed to the real fact; the Reformation having transferred the Papal Supremacy to the civil power in England, so that its national Church, so far from yielding to St. Peter's See the original honour given by the Saxon Archbishops, had a distinct existence only in and by virtue of denying that honour, and of rendering it instead to the civil power.

It may further be observed that the conduct of Bishops, clergy, and people, on occasion of the establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy in 1850, in the same month in which my second book appeared, sufficiently attested how universally they accepted the supremacy of the civil power, how entirely they felt it to be the antagonist of the Primacy of the Papal See, and how utterly preposterous and contrary to facts had been the defence invented for the Church of England in my first book.

In the Gorham decision not only is that civil power exhibited as exercising supreme spiritual

jurisdiction, but, by a singular concurrence, it exercises it for the purpose of legalising the grossest heresy. Its attitude was—"My children, here are two great parties among you, of clergy and of laity; the one holding baptismal regeneration, as the key of the whole sacramental system; the other denying it, as incompatible with the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Now I cannot afford to lose either of you: together you make me up: for three hundred years you have gone on, the one holding this doctrine, the other denying it. Pray go on so still. If you don't, I shall go to pieces. Let Mr. Gorham go back to his living; and let him, and all who hold with him, deny baptismal regeneration and the sacramental system. Let all you others who hold both, preach and teach them as you have done before. I am strong enough to contain you both, and far too weak to lose either." And this was the national Church of a people who count truth and honesty to be the distinctive marks of the national character.

What you thought concerning this decision at the time, I find recorded in the following propositions, which bear your name attached to them:

"To admit the lawfulness of holding an exposition of an article of the Creed contradictory of the essential meaning, is in truth and in fact to abandon that article;" and "inasmuch as the

Faith is one, and rests upon one principle of authority, the conscious, deliberate, and wilful abandonment of the essential meaning of an article of the Creed destroys the Divine foundation upon which alone the entire Faith is propounded by the Church;" and "any portion of the Church which does so abandon the essential meaning of an article of the Creed, forfeits not only the Catholic doctrine in that article, but also the office and authority to witness and to teach as a member of the universal Church."

So you stated in the year 1850. You have since been, for fifteen years, a Presbyter, a Dignitary, and a Royal Professor in the Church which has so done; and now you come forward with the exact contradictory of these propositions in behalf of the Church which has so done, that is, with a book entitled *The Truth and Office of the English Church.* Now, in the year 1848, in the book which you quote as "the fruit of investigations, as to whose issue I was indifferent," I wrote, "If the Church of England is to become a mere lurking-place for omnigenous latitudinarianism; if first principles of the faith, such as baptismal regeneration and priestly absolution, may be indifferently held or denied within her pale—though if not God's very truths, they are most fearful blasphemies — the sooner she is swept away the better." In the year 1850 this

very thing came to pass: and I felt that my defence of her in that book had crumbled into dust. In obedience to my principles, therefore, I left her communion: have you in obedience to yours stayed in it? Which of us, I ask, has written, and which of us has acted, "as a partisan"?

And here one may say a word respecting your book coming forth after these fifteen years as a professed *Eirenicon*, which, but for the name and for the letter you have since written to a Catholic paper, every one would have taken for a petard. You state in page 44, "How the Church of England can be said formally to deny the indissoluble unity of the Church I know not;" as if you had never heard of the Royal Supremacy, from which the Church of England dates its origin as a distinct body, in obedience to which every man in order to become a minister of hers must take an oath recognising as lodged in the civil power that same Supremacy, which, as well in the Church of England when Catholic, before its origin as a distinct body, as in every other province of the Catholic Church, had been centred in the Apostolic See of St. Peter. It is the transference of this Supremacy to the Crown, that is, the nation, which every lawyer will tell you is the law of the Church of England, and has been so since the act of Elizabeth above cited, which constitutes the formal and the per-

manent act of schism and heresy; and which, further. makes the Church of England in its very root and basis antichristian; which sets up the Church of England, not accidentally, but in essence, as the enemy and rival, wherever she exists, of the Church of Christ. I believe, indeed, that many of her children are quite unconscious of their mother's history. They know nothing of the bill of divorce which she gave to her Husband; they know nothing of that ocean of blood through which she waded in order to become the paramour of the State. But their ignorance does not remove or alter the testimony of history; nor does the lapse of three centuries validate the original basis on which the Anglican Church stands. Her actual title to any spiritual jurisdiction at all rests on the grant of the State mentioned in that original document of Elizabeth above cited, by which out of her supreme royal authority she supplied whatever was wanting according to Ecclesiastical Law, and confirmed Parker in his see. She gave Parker his jurisdiction as Bishop, just as the crown gave it to Dr. Longley. Never did heathen emperor of old present to the Christian martyr a claim more baseless or more antichristian than this; to which not only has the Church of England submitted, but to which she actually owes whatever unity she possesses in that mass of most heterogeneous subjects

—if it be not fitter to call them masters—who live within her pale: those who believe in and those who disbelieve sacraments; those who believe in the inspiration of Scripture, and those who disbelieve it. For this very thing, this supremacy of the civil power, in and by which she was set up, in and by which she continues to be, she has made herself drunk with the blood of martyrs, beginning with More and Fisher: by means of this—representing it as treason to deny it—she maintained a system of persecution, so cunningly devised and so pertinaciously carried out, as to surpass at least in malignant ingenuity even the persecution of the first three centuries. For refusing this mark of the Beast our priests were tortured and executed, our nobles and gentry impoverished, imprisoned, deprived of their most sacred rights, while our people were juggled out of their belief; and by such a tyranny, ruthlessly prolonged through two centuries, the Catholic Faith was well-nigh banished from England, the Church whose root and charter was this civil supremacy looking on applauding, and entering into the possessions and rank of the Church despoiled. And after all this you now come forward and tell us that the Church which *did* this was part of the Church that *suffered* it; and that, as living upon the same sacraments, they both possessed the same divine life of Christ. Surely

in speaking of the "Truth and Office of the English Church," you have omitted that which marks her out distinctively among all past and present communities calling themselves Christian. She *was* to bear witness to a great Truth; she *was* to perform a great Office. The Truth to which she was to bear witness was, that to derive the spiritual power of jurisdiction in the Church of Christ from the civil power of the nation in which it lives was an antichristian heresy; and the Office which she had to perform was to show during three hundred years to what depths of spiritual degradation, to what dissolution of the faith, to what destruction of discipline, to what utter anarchy and extreme passionateness of division in those who remained within her, to what fertility of minutely-parcelling schism in those who left her, such a principle, made the root of an institution, would lead. She has marvellously illustrated this Truth; she has excellently executed this Office. How many of her ministers, how many of her laity, would receive the doctrinal statements of your book? How many would receive and agree in any definite statement of faith at all? But if in the United Church of England and Ireland there are as many opinions about the Christian faith as there are individuals, there is but one Royal Supremacy. When doctrines are disputed within her, the same authority which sits as a Board of

Trade will pronounce as a Board of Doctrine; and *she* has to receive the solution in the judgment of a creedless council, delivered by an unbelieving chancellor,* and *you* have to *protest* and *accept* the

* This Court is in its constitution in exact accordance with the original statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, which consummated the schism and by which the ecclesiastical causes of the Church and Realm of England were governed and decided from the days of King Henry (except that it was repealed in 1554 and revived in 1559) to those of William the Fourth. It runs thus: "IV. And for lack of justice at or in any of the courts of the Archbishops of this realm, or in any of the king's dominions, it shall be lawful for the parties grieved to appeal to the king's majesty in the king's Court of Chancery; and that upon every such appeal a commission shall be directed under the Great Seal to such persons as shall be named by the king's highness, his heirs or successors, like as in case of appeal from the Admiral's Court, to hear and definitively determine such appeals, and the causes concerning the same. Which commissioners, so by the king's highness, his heirs or successors, to be named or appointed, shall have full power and authority to hear and definitively determine every such appeal, with the causes and all circumstances concerning the same: And that such judgment or sentence as the said commissioners shall make and decree, in and upon any such appeal, shall be good and effectual and also definitive; and no further appeals to be had or made from the said commissioners for the same." This statute was pointed out to you by Mr. Maskell in 1850, who says in a note: "Considering the nature of the subject, this business-like, commonplace manner of disposing of the little details of the new arrangements is really deserving of our admiration: 'like as in case of appeal from the Admiral's Court.' Could any thing be better?" The Court of Privy

judgment. Her Truth and her Office are before us. It has been a grand illustration carried out on a large scale and during a long period. No *Eirenicon* will ever reach the force of this *Polemicon;* be assured the Church of God has registered the experience in her archives, and will not forget it.

December 21, 1865.

Council succeeded by the act of William IV. to this Court of Delegates. When you ask for a change in the constitution of this Court, you are asking in fact *to undo the Reformation.* Antichristian no doubt the constitution of the Court is; your error is in refusing to see that it has always been so, and that it makes the Church of England what it is.

INTRODUCTION.

SOME years ago the writer, already in great distress of mind at the historical and actual position of the Anglican Church, at the statements of her formularies, at the want of shape and principle in her practice, and, above all, at her general character and temperament as a communion which seemed to him thoroughly alien from the spirit of the ancient Fathers, betook himself to the special consideration of one point, —the Primacy of the Roman See,—which he thought more calculated than any other to lead him to a sure conclusion. He was then, as he is now, "convinced that the whole question between the Roman Church and ourselves, as well as the Eastern Church, turns upon the Papal Supremacy, as at present claimed, being of divine right, or not. *If it be*, then have we nothing else to do but submit ourselves to the authority of Rome; and better it were to do so before we meet the attack, which is close at hand, of an enemy who bears equal hatred to

ourselves and Rome;—the predicted Lawless One, the Logos, reason, or private judgment of apostate humanity rising up against the Divine Logos, incarnate in His Church."

The writer, moreover, then professed, that "he took up this inquiry for the purpose of satisfying his own mind;" that "had he found the Councils and Fathers of the Church, before the division of the East and West, bearing witness *to* the Roman Supremacy, as at present claimed, instead of *against* it, *he should have felt bound to obey them;*" and that "as a Priest of the Church Catholic in England he desires to hold, and to the best of his ability will teach, all doctrine which the undivided Church always held."*

He made these professions in the simplicity, it is true, but likewise in the sincerity of his heart; and he made them publicly before God and man. Now, the conclusion to which he was at that time led by the study of antiquity was, that a Primacy† of divine institution had indeed been

* *The Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism,* Advertisement.

† This is admitted in p. 313, p. 315, and pp. 490, 491 of the second edition of the above-mentioned work. The author ought to have seen what it involved; for no *abuse,* even could such be proved to exist, would warrant men in rejecting what is of *divine* institution. This was once put to him in a very forcible way by a much-valued friend: "If God has instituted Baptism, men would not be justi-

given to the See of Peter, but that the degree to which it had been pressed in later times formed an excuse for those communions which, *while they maintained the Catholic faith whole and entire*, were *de facto* severed from it.

Thus he made these professions when he thought that they led him to one conclusion; but he is equally bound to redeem them now that in the course of years they have led him to another.

For though his study of the question terminated for the moment at this point, yet the Supremacy claimed by S. Peter's See over the whole Church was a subject never out of his thoughts. And in the mean time what he saw of the actual state of the Roman Communion in other lands, of the principles on which it was based, and of the fruits which it produced, deeply moved and affected him. That Communion seemed in full possession of the great sacerdotal and sacramental system for which earnest Anglicans were vainly struggling, as well as of that religious unity the name of which in an Anglican mouth sounded like a mockery, amid the deep contradictions, both as to principles and as to practice, which are equally tolerated and supported by the Establishment; when just at this moment that one only doctrine of all those mooted at the Reformation,

fied in rejecting it, even if the Church were to administer it with spittle."

which had appeared to him to be as unquestionably taught, at least by the formularies of the Anglican Church, as by the ancient Church—the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration—was brought before the tribunal of the Court of Arches, and thence carried, by appeal, to the Queen in Council.

This fact first brought home to the writer the real nature of the Royal Supremacy. Up to that time, without having accurately looked into that power, he had supposed it to be *practically* indeed a great tyranny over the Church subject to it, but *in principle* only "a supreme civil power over all persons and causes in temporal things, and over the temporal accidents of spiritual things."* But the more he considered it in its origin, and with reference to the power which it supplanted and succeeded, and in its exercise during three hundred years, and in its whole tone and demeanour to the communion over which it was "supreme governor," the more painfully he became convinced that such a limitation, desirable as it might be to quiet the consciences of churchmen, was *as a fact* quite untenable. He felt that at his Anglican ordination as Deacon and as Priest, and subsequently, he had taken an oath of obedience to a power the nature and bear-

* So stated in the circular put forth by Archdeacons Manning and Wilberforce, and Dr. Mill.

ing of which he did not then at all comprehend—a power which, the moment he came to comprehend it, seemed to be utterly opposed to every principle which he held dear as a Churchman, and to contradict as much the relation of the Church to the State which is set forth in the Holy Scriptures as the teaching of the Fathers and the acts of General Councils,—a power which had no parallel in all historical Christianity up to the very time of its enactment, and which not merely enthralled, but destroyed, the continuous life of the Church. For he found that Supremacy of the civil power to consist in a supreme jurisdiction over the Establishment in matters both of faith and of discipline, and in the derivation of Episcopal mission and jurisdiction—not as to their *origin* indeed, but as to their *exercise*—from the Crown or the nation. The writer at once felt that he must repudiate either that Supremacy or every notion of the Church; that is, the one divinely-constituted Society to which the possession of the truth is guaranteed, and which has a continuous mission from our Lord for the spiritual government of souls and the building up that humanity which He redeemed "to the measure of the stature of the perfect man." The Royal Supremacy and the Church of God are two ideas absolutely incompatible and contradictory.

But my heart, my soul, my conscience, and no

less my reason, every power and principle within me, were longing, sighing, thirsting for the Church of God, "the pillar and the ground of the truth."

Any decision to which the Queen in Council might come was unimportant in my sight, in comparison to the fact that the Queen in Council had the power of deciding in matters of doctrine.

Thus I felt before the decision came out; but when it came out there was added a sense of shame, of degradation, and of infamy, which had never before oppressed me, in that I belonged to a communion of which the supreme tribunal, when called upon to declare whether, by its existing rule of doctrine, infants were or were not regenerated by God in holy Baptism, decided neither that they were nor that they were not, but that the Clergy might believe and teach either one or the other, or both indifferently.

And I felt thus because *any* error and *any* heresy are innocent and innocuous compared to the tenet that error and heresy are indifferent; and *any* legal decision, however erroneous, is *honourable* compared to that which pronounces it equally lawful to believe and teach that God the Holy Ghost is given, and that He is not given, to a child by a certain act.

Nor can I regard the institution of Mr. Gorham

by the Court, and at the fiat of the Archbishop of Canterbury, under the decree of her Majesty as Supreme Governor of the Anglican Church, to be any thing else but a public profession that the Anglican Church is founded on the most dishonest compromise—one which involves the denial of the whole Christian faith and the practical establishment of unlimited Latitudinarianism.*

* Because, "to admit the lawfulness of holding an exposition of an Article of the Creed, contradictory of the essential meaning of that Article, is in truth and in fact to abandon that Article;" and "inasmuch as the Faith is one, and rests upon one principle of authority, the conscious, deliberate, and wilful abandonment of the essential meaning of an Article of the Creed destroys the divine foundation upon which alone the entire Faith is propounded by the Church;" and "any portion of the Church, which does so abandon the essential meaning of an Article of the Creed, forfeits not only the Catholic doctrine in that Article, but also the office and authority to witness and teach as a member of the Universal Church."

Propositions signed by thirteen most distinguished names:

H. E. MANNING, M.A., *Archdeacon of Chichester.*

ROBERT J. WILBERFORCE, M.A., *Archdeacon of the East Riding.*

THOMAS THORP, B.D., *Archdeacon of Bristol.*

W. H. MILL, D.D., *Regius Professor of Hebrew, Cambridge.*

E. B. PUSEY, D.D., *Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford.*

JOHN KEBLE, M.A., *Vicar of Hursley.*

W. DODSWORTH, M.A., *Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, St. Pancras.*

And yet I could not but acknowledge that the power which makes this decision is one fully competent to make it. It is that power to which the Anglican Church first submitted itself in 1534, and finally in 1559. It is the power under which it has lived three hundred years, and by whose grant it holds all its property. It is the power to which, during all that time, its Clergy have sworn obedience, as "Supreme Governor;" and the nature of Supremacy is, that what is subject to it cannot call it in question. It is the power which not only nominates, but institutes, Bishops; erects, divides, alters, and extinguishes bishoprics; causes Convocation to be summoned, or not to be summoned; to transact, or not to transact business; confirms, or does not confirm its acts; and, in short, the power which constitutes the distinctive character of the Anglican Communion, as to its government, making it to differ both from the Catholic Church and all Protestant sects. Lastly, it is the power which alone makes it a whole, the Cathedra Petri of Anglicanism.

For all these reasons, it is a power which binds

W. J. E. Bennett, M.A., *Perpetual Curate of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge.*
H. W. Wilberforce, M.A., *Vicar of East Farleigh.*
John C. Talbot, M.A., *Barrister-at-law.*
Richard Cavendish, M.A.
Edward Badeley, M.A., *Barrister-at-law.*
James R. Hope, D.C.L., *Barrister-at-law.*

the Anglican Church, its Clergy, and its Laity, as a whole and as individuals; and accordingly a power by the rightness or wrongness of whose decision in matters of faith the conscience of every one in that communion, and his state before God, is touched.

Now, to submit to this particular decision, I must resign every principle of faith as a Christian, as well as every feeling of honour as a freeman;—I would as soon sacrifice to Jupiter, or worship Buddha, or again, take my faith from the civil power;—and to remain in the Anglican Communion is to submit to it.

But in the mean time the nearer consideration of the Royal Supremacy had opened my mind to comprehend the nature of its great antagonist, the Primacy of S. Peter's See. For, as has been said, the former consists in supremacy of jurisdiction, whether viewed as deciding in the last resort upon doctrine, and this as well legislatively, by giving license to summon convocation, and by confirming its acts, as judicially, in matters of appeal; or as giving mission and authority to exercise their powers to all Bishops. Now, it was plain that such a supremacy must exist somewhere in every system. And immediately there followed the question, What is that *somewhere* in the Church Catholic? I could not even imagine any answer, save that it was S. Peter's Chair.

And then I saw that the contest in Church history really lay not between Ultramontane and Gallican opinions, but between the liberty, independence, and spirituality of Christ's Church on the one hand, or on its being made a servile instrument of State government on the other: between a divine and a human Church. And now I went over again the testimonies of antiquity which I had before put together, and many others besides; and I found that one or two confusions and incoherencies of mind—especially the not understanding accurately the distinction between the power of Order and the power of Jurisdiction, and their consequences—had alone prevented my seeing, not merely a Primacy of divine institution, but how full, complete, and overwhelming was the testimony of the Church before the division of the East and West to the Supremacy of S. Peter's See, *as at present claimed*, the very same, and no other. I had it proved to me by the evidence of unnumbered witnesses, that the charge of such Supremacy being originated by the false decretals of Isidore Mercator was a most groundless, I fear also, a most malignant and treacherous imputation. And, moreover, I felt convinced that those who deny the Papal Supremacy must, if they are honest men, cease to study history, or at least begin their acquaintance with Christianity at the sixteenth century.

Also that they must be content with a dead Church, and no Creed.

When I had come to this conclusion, it became a matter of absolute necessity and conscience to *act* upon it, to resign my office and function of teaching in the Anglican Church, and not only so, but to leave that communion itself, in which, so far from being able "to hold and teach all doctrine which the undivided Church always held," I could no longer teach, save as an "open question" (from which degradation may God preserve me!), that very primary doctrine which stands at the commencement of the spiritual life.

I leave therefore the Anglican Communion, not simply because it is involved in heresy* by the

* See Archdeacon Manning's last pamphlet: "If there be, therefore, such a thing as material heresy, it is the doctrine which has now received the sanction of the law" (p. 43). But the Anglican Episcopate has met upon this doctrine, considered, and *done nothing;* and so, *as a whole*, accepts it; nor has the Church, *as a whole*, rejected it; only individuals have protested, and this in a far smaller number than those who have acquiesced in it. What is wanting to make it, as respects the communion itself, not only material, but formal heresy?

Since this was written in 1850, the Convocation so often appealed to by churchmen has been allowed repeatedly to meet, but has never ventured, if indeed it desired, to take any step towards reversing the Gorham decision. No doubt it is conscious both that such an attempt would not have the smallest chance of success, and also, that if it did succeed, it would pull the Anglican Establishment to

decision of Her Majesty in Council, but because that Royal Supremacy, in virtue of which Her Majesty decides at all in matters of doctrine, is a power utterly incompatible with the existence of the Church of God, and because Anglicanism, as a whole, has not only tampered with and corrupted the entire body of doctrine which concerns the Church and the Sacraments, but, as a living system, is based upon the denial of that Primacy of S. Peter's See to which I find Holy Scripture and the Church of the East and West bearing witness; and which I believe, on their au hority, to have been established by Christ Himself as the Rock and immovable foundation of His Church, her safeguard from heresy and dissolution.

My last act as an Anglican, and my last *duty* to Anglicanism, is to set forth, as I do in the following pages, what has induced me to leave it.

pieces. But its silence after meeting has made the Establishment's acceptance of the decision full and complete. *Note to Third Edition.*

Section J.

THE PRIMACY OF S. PETER AN EXISTING POWER.

Christianity is now more than eighteen hundred years old; and when we look around we find it planted, and more or less flourishing, among all the nations of the earth which are conspicuous for their power, their knowledge, and their civilisation. This common term Christianity distinguishes them broadly, but decisively, from all other nations outside of its pale. But a second glance makes it necessary to analyse this term itself; for it shows a great variety of differences in the religious belief and spiritual government of those whom we have thus classed together. About two-thirds in number of all calling themselves Christians are closely united under one head, whom they believe to be of Divine institution—namely, the Bishop of Rome, the successor of S. Peter—and in one belief and one communion, of which that Bishop is the special bond. Of the remaining third part, two-thirds, again, profess a belief very nearly, save in one point, identical with the former, but distinguished in

that they do not now acknowledge the Bishop of Rome as the bond of their unity, though they freely admit that he once stood at the head of that patriarchal system of government which they still maintain. These form the Oriental communion, embracing the Greek and Russian Churches. Of other Eastern sects it is not necessary here to speak. The rest, forming the other third of this latter third, or one-ninth, numerically, of all Christians, may be classed together as the Protestant, or Anglo-German phase of Christianity. Most deeply opposed, in many of their tenets, and in their whole tone of thinking and feeling, to the last-mentioned communion, they yet agree with it in rejecting the headship of S. Peter's successor, and indeed are wont to add every contumelious epithet which language can supply to the claim of authority which he puts forth and exercises. Not, however, that this Anglo-German Christianity is united itself as to its spiritual government, or even as to its belief. For whereas in England, and partly in America, it is governed by Bishops, in Prussia and Scotland, and again in the United States, it has thrown off such control. Nor, again, that its component portions have one creed, for it has been found impossible to draw up articles of belief to which they could all agree. Nevertheless, this Anglo-German Christianity may be called one mass, for it broke

off, or at least was severed, at the same time, from the great communion first mentioned, which still acknowledges the headship of S. Peter's successor. And with many minor diversities and gradations it has in common certain fundamental principles; such as the entire rejection, in some portions of it, and in others the attenuation, of the doctrine of Sacramental Grace, and in all, the maiming of that great sacramental system to which all the rest of Christianity adheres; and again, which is a part of the above, a denial that the spiritual government of the Church is lodged by a divine succession in certain *persons*. This idea, in some of its portions, as in Prussia, and in the Protestant sects of America, is utterly rejected; in others, as the Anglican Church, made an open question, it being notorious that part of its clergy consider such a notion a corruption of Christianity, while part as warmly maintain it to be necessary for the Church's existence. Again, all are united in rejecting the Roman view of the great mystery of the Real Presence, and of that reverence to Saints, which flows forth from it, such as the ascription of miraculous effects to their relics, and of such prevailing power in their intercessions that they may lawfully and profitably be asked to pray for us. Perhaps this peculiarity of mind may be summed up in its most remarkable instance. For whereas that before-

mentioned great Roman Communion, and no less the Eastern, is distinguished by a very special and wholly singular love and reverence towards the most Blessed Virgin Mary, as the mother of God our Saviour; whereas all hearts within it are so penetrated with the thought of her divine maternity, that they cannot behold our Lord in His infancy, without seeing Him borne in His mother's arms; nor gaze upon Him suffering on the cross, without the thought of His mother transfixed with sorrow at His feet, so that He and she are indivisibly bound together, on Earth in the days of His flesh, in Heaven at the right hand of God, and the mystery of our redemption, completely accomplished in Him, yet enfolds her as the instrument of His incarnation, has an office and a function for her; whereas these are daily household thoughts, and the dearest of all sympathies, in minds of the Roman and the Eastern Communion, the Anglo-German phase of Christianity is quite united in looking upon this reverence and love to the Blessed Virgin as dangerous, and tending to idolatry, and derogatory to our Lord.

On the whole, then, we may set down the actually existing Christianity as divided into three great portions: the Roman Catholic, united in government and belief, and comprehending two-thirds of the whole;

The Oriental with the Russian, and the sects parted from it;

The Protestant, or Anglo-German.

At this moment, then, a variety of nations, having the most various worldly interests, and the most distinct national, moral, and political character, are united in acknowledging, as the head of their religion, the successor of S. Peter, the Bishop of Rome. And after all the divisions and conflicts of Christianity within itself, two-thirds of all professing it are still of one mind, and more than one hundred and sixty millions of souls, by the confession of an adversary, see, in the divine framework of the visible Church which holds them together, one mainspring and motive power, controlling and harmonising all the rest: in the circle which embraces them and the world, one centre, S. Peter's See, the throne of the Fisherman, built by the Carpenter's Son.

The Anglican Church professes a belief in Episcopacy; it is not unworthy of its attention, that of about eleven hundred Bishops now in the world (admitting the claim of one hundred of Anglican descent) eight hundred own allegiance to the Pope. If a General Council could sit, there would be no doubt on which side the vast majority would be.

If nations could represent the Church, as at the Council of Constance, there would be as little uncertainty in the result.

Such is the aspect of things in the present day; but Christianity numbers more than eighteen hundred years. "Remember the days of old: consider the years of many generations. Ask thy father, and he will show thee: thy elders, and they will tell thee." Of eighteen hundred years let us go back three hundred and fifty, from 1850 to 1500.

Where is the Anglo-German phase of Christianity? What nations did it number? What powers of the world did it set in motion? *It was yet to come.* Its principles, indeed, had lurked in the restless mind of Wickliffe; had seemed, and but seemed, to expire in the ashes of Huss. It was darkly and mistily agitating unquiet thoughts in England and Germany, flying, like a bird of ill omen, round the proud towers of the Church of God, or festering in corners of corruption over high powers misused. But in fixed shape and consistency, as yet *it was not.* That which now claims to be the pure and reformed Church *had no existence.* The Anglo-Saxon mind had been formed and grown up under the control of S. Peter's See: and the country of Luther still with one voice reverenced that Winfrid, who, from the island won to the cross by S. Gregory, went forth to his successor, begged his apostolic blessing, and planted in Mayence the crosier which he had received from Rome. The Churches of Ger-

many and England owed to the Papal See their whole organisation, and had subsisted, the one for eight hundred, the other for nine hundred years, under that fostering power. The claim which Germany and England now reject was then written on every page of the ecclesiastical legislation of those countries. Their first Metropolitans had received their jurisdiction from the Pope; the diocese of every German and English Bishop had been defined by the Pope; the institution of every Bishop to his see had been received from the Pope, and at the most awful moment of his life, every spiritual ruler had sworn that he would uphold the See of S. Peter, and its occupant, "principem episcopalis coronæ." *

Go back but three centuries and a half, and this ninth part of Christianity—this busy, prying, restless mind, which criticises every thing and believes nothing; pulls down, but never builds up; analyses the principle of life, and by the dissection kills it—which treats the Holy Scripture as the ploughboy treated the watch, pulls it to pieces to look at its mechanism, and then wonders that it will not go; which grudges to men even the Apostles' Creed, and will not let them hold that there is one baptism for the remission of sins, but on condition that they communicate with those

* Edict of the Emperor Valentinian, A.D. 445.

who deny it; this spirit, which, in its most advanced development, casts Christianity itself into the alembic, and makes it come out a volatile essence of pantheism—in one word, Protestantism, *was not.*

Thus those who most bitterly reject the Papal Supremacy as an usurpation of late times are found themselves to have begun to exist ages after the supposed corruption which they denounce.

But there are older, more consistent, more dignified deniers of the Pope's claim than those who date from the Reformation.

To meet these, let us go back, instead of three hundred and fifty, a thousand years. In the year 850, not only Italy, and Spain, and Gaul, and Britain, and Germany, but the Roman Empire of the east, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and their subject Bishops and people, acknowledged S. Peter's successor, without a doubt and without a murmur, as "chief pastor of the Church which is under Heaven."* I shall have occasion to bring forward presently testimonies from the highest authorities among them, and from their Bishops assembled in Ecumenical Council; testimonies of the complete obedience which they yielded to

* S. Theodore Studites, Abbot of Constantinople. Baronius, A.D. 809, n. 14.

the Pope's Supremacy, as well in matters of faith as of discipline.

But in 850 modern Europe was at least in part constituted—the foundations of present legislation had been laid—some thrones, still existing, had been raised; the north had cast forth its hordes whom the Church was moulding into empires, and out of freemen making legislators: Charlemagne had been crowned Emperor of the Romans before S. Peter's shrine, by the hands of S. Peter's successor, and Alfred was just about to receive his first education at Rome under S. Leo the Fourth. Let us go back another five hundred years, into that old Roman civilisation, when the children of Constantine sat on his throne, and Athanasius was being tried for his faith. A General Council is assembled at Sardica, A.D. 347, and it recognises S. Peter's successor as in full, time-honoured possession of his supreme power. It directs, not as a new thing, nor as the recognition of a new power, but what was "best and most fitting," as being in accordance with all ancient usage, that all Bishops, in case of difficulty, "should refer *to the head*, that is, *the See of the Apostle Peter*."

And the first Council in which the whole Church was represented, the Nicene Council, famous to all ages, stated, not as granting a favour, but bearing witness to a fact, and acknow-

ledging a power existing from the very first, without attempting to define it—for indeed that power was neither derived from its gift, nor subject to its control—"the Roman Church always had the Primacy."*

If, then, two-thirds of all existing Christians acknowledge still the Pope's Supremacy, and if the countries forming the remaining third did formerly, and that for many hundred years, acknowledge it, certainly it can fairly claim the right of a *power in possession;* it can throw the *burden of proof* on those who deny it. And this is a consideration of some importance. A power now exists in most active and manifold operation

* That is, as quoted by the Papal Legates at the Council of Chalcedon. If it be objected that the Greek copies do not begin the 6th canon, which is the one in question, with this heading, as was observed by the Archdeacon of Constantinople at the Council of Chalcedon, yet at the same time neither he nor any one else denied the fact that the Nicene Council acknowledged this Primacy of Rome; nay, the 29th canon of the Council of Chalcedon, which the Greek party was at the time trying to pass, and which the Popes would never ratify, recognised the Primacy of Rome at least *de facto;* nor was there any one in that Council who even pretended that it had arisen between A.D. 325 and A.D. 451. Whatever, therefore, be the true reading of the much-debated 6th canon of the Nicene Council, which seems not even yet to be settled, so much, at least, is clear, that the Primacy of Rome was admitted to be *recognised* by it, which is all that is asserted in the text. *Note to Second Edition.*

at the very centre of the Church of Christ—a supreme, controlling, harmonising, conservative, unitive, defining power, in that mighty empire of thought which our Lord has set up. Who put it there? It answers: Our Lord Himself. And it points to a great number of proofs, bearing witness to its existence, in the history of eighteen hundred years. Now these proofs are of very various cogency. No one of them perhaps defines, or could define, the whole range of the power; but one exhibits it in this particular, and another in that: for instance, one ancient saint declares "that it is necessary that every Church should agree with the Roman, on account of its superiority of headship;" another, that "unity begins from it;" a third, that "where Peter is, there is the Church;" a fourth, that "the headship of the Apostolic See has always flourished in it."* Now it is plain that these expressions want a key. And such is supplied by the present existence of that power. The fair and candid mind will see in them much more even than they at first sight convey: for it was not the purpose of the writers at the moment to *define* the power to which they were alluding, any more than those living under the supremacy of the British monarchy, in any casual mention of it, would do other-

* 1. S. Irenæus; 2. S. Cyprian; 3. S. Ambrose; 4. S. Augustine. *Note to Second Edition.*

wise than refer to it as an existing thing. If such attributes, then, of the Roman See, separately mentioned by different Fathers, all fit into, and are explained by, an existing power, and, when put together, here one and there another, exhibit, more or less, such a power, it is fair so to interpret them, and to infer that the power which we now see existed then. For attaining the truth, it is most necessary to begin by studying it under right conditions. In interpreting expressions there is often a great difference between what they *must* and what they *may* mean: now an existing power has a right, in such cases as these, that they should be interpreted in its favour.

For consider what a phenomenon, wholly without a parallel, this power, as at present existing, exhibits.

Not merely is it older than all the monarchies of Europe; little is it to say that it has watched over their first rudiments, fostered their growth, assisted their development, maintained their maturity; it has been further upheld by a deep belief, shared in common by many various nations, older in each of them than their existence as nations, and continuing on through the lapse of ages, while almost every thing else in those nations has changed; not only does it rule, claiming an equal and paternal sway over all, in spite of their various jealousies, their national antagon-

ism, or their diverse temperament, so that German and Italian, who love not each other, Pole and Spaniard, who are so dissimilar, have yet in their faith a common Father; but, moreover, every circumstance of the world has altered, and society gone round its whole cycle, from a corrupt heathen civilisation, through a wild barbarism conflicting with Christianity, into wise and venerable polities built upon the Church, and having its life infused into their own, while all throughout a line of old men has been on the banks of the Tiber, ruling this huge and many-membered Christian Commonwealth, not by the arm of the flesh, but by the word of the Spirit. Nations fought and conquered, or were subdued; populations were changed, and races engrafted. German and Italian, Frank and Gaul, Goth and Iberian, Saxon and Briton, Slavonian and Hun, were dashed together. There were centuries of bitter wrong—the pangs of Europe hastening to the birth. But a presiding spirit was there too, and brooded over all—a spirit of unity, order, and love. At last the darkness broke, and it was found that these wild nations, one and all, recognised the keys of Peter, and felt the sword of Paul. An omen of this victory had appeared in early times. S. Leo set forth the true doctrine of the Incarnation; the Church listened, and was saved from a heresy already half imposed upon

her by the civil power of the Eastern empire. The Western empire trembled at the approach of Attila, and the same Leo went forth to meet the barbarian, who was awed by the simple majesty of his presence, and the power of God in the person of His chief minister.

Fourteen hundred years have passed, and Leo's successor still sits upon his throne; hundreds of bishops, and millions of faithful, still believe that his voice sets forth and protects the true faith in every emergent heresy; and that wild force which Attila wielded has been tamed to the dominion of law, in that long course of intervening ages, by the power which Leo represented. Yet, great as was his influence as head of the Church, still incomparably greater now is the authority of his successor amongst the nations of the earth, after all defections, amid all the unbelief of these latter times, when "many run to and fro, and knowledge is increased," and perilous powers are in motion and combination,—powers which seek to substitute the human intellect, with the arts and commodities of life springing from it, for the grace of God healing the nations, and the truth which He has committed to the guardianship of His mystical Body.

Manners, races, empires, have changed and passed away, but what S. Prosper sung in 431 is as true now:

"Sedes Roma Petri, quæ pastoralis honoris
Facta caput mundo, quicquid non possidet armis
Religione tenet."

S. Augustine, at the end of the fourth century, pointed to the line of Bishops descending from the very seat of Peter, to whom the Lord intrusted His sheep to be fed, as holding him in the Catholic Church. It was a cogent argument then; but what is it now, when fourteen centuries and a half have added more than two hundred successors to that chair, and more than forty generations have encircled it with their homage?

Is it possible for an *usurpation* to subsist under such conditions? Will many various nations agree that the head of their religion should be external to themselves? Will the members of these various and jealous nations, who are equal in their episcopal power, allow a *brother* to arrange their precedence, control their actions, terminate their disputes, rule them as one flock, and that for fifteen centuries together?

Or where shall we seek the foundation of such a power? The Church bears witness to it, but did not create it. Councils acknowledge it, but it is before councils. The first of them said: "The Roman Church always had the Primacy." Who is sufficient to create such an institution, and to maintain it? to take a common pebble

that lay at his feet, and build on it a pyramid that should last for ever; on which for evermore the rain should descend, the floods fall, and the winds blow, and all the power of the evil one be exerted in vain? One alone, surely. So this authority itself declares. So the Church itself witnesses. So unnumbered saints from age to age proclaim. That One who said, "Let there be light," and "This is My Body," said also, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven."

But of this we must speak more in detail.

Section JJ.

THE SCRIPTURAL PROOF OF THE PRIMACY.

"In *our* life," said S. Bernard, "we seem to do, so far as our own purpose is concerned, many things by chance, and many by necessity; but Christ, the Power of God and the Wisdom of God, could be subject to neither of these. For what necessity could force God's Power, or what should God's Wisdom do by chance? Wherefore all things whatsoever He spake, whatsoever He did, whatsoever He suffered, doubt not to have proceeded from His will, full of mysteries, full of salvation."*

If such thoughts are becoming in respect of all the words which God spake on earth in the days of His flesh, they apply with peculiar force to those few and short sentences wherein He summed up the authority which He was conferring on His Apostles for the institution and edification of His Church. They are creative words, full of power, stretching through all time, each one in

* In Festo Ascensionis, Serm. iv.

itself a prophecy, a miracle, and a manifold mystery.

Assuredly, therefore, not without a special meaning were some things said to all the Apostles in common, and some to S. Peter alone.

Let us distinguish these.

And, further, let us distinguish the *promise* from the *fulfilment*.

Now there was one single *promise*, respecting the government of His Church, made by our Lord to S. Peter singly, and another made to all the Apostles together, including Peter. They have a close connection with each other, and the better to see their force let us put them in parallel columns:

TO PETER.	TO THE APOSTLES.
"1. I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build My Church,	
"2. And the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.	
"3. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven,	
"4. And whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven."	"Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven."

Here it will be observed that four things are

first promised to Peter alone, the fourth of which is *afterwards* promised to the Apostles together, including Peter.

And the *fulfilment* of this fourth promise is made likewise to all the Apostles together, thus:

"Peace be unto you: as My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you.

"And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained."

The other passages which express powers given to the Apostles in common are these:

1 Cor. xi. 23–25: "The Lord Jesus the same night in which He was betrayed took bread; and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is My Body, which is given for you: *this do in remembrance of Me.* After the same manner also He took the cup when He had supped, saying: This cup is the new testament in My Blood: *this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me.*" See also Luke xxii. 19.

Matt. xxviii. 18–20: "Jesus came and spake unto them, saying: All power is given unto Me in Heaven and in Earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I

have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen."

Mark xvi. 15: "And He said unto them: Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature."

Luke xxiv. 49: "And, behold, I send the promise of My Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem until ye be endued with power from on high."

Acts i. 4, 5, 8: "Being assembled together with them, He commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith He, ye have heard of Me. For John truly baptised with water; but ye shall be baptised with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.

"Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto Me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth."

We have seen that three out of four promises made to Peter singly were not made to the other Apostles, and two remarkable passages remain, which belong to Peter only.

Our Lord, when all the Apostles were around Him, at the time of His passion, singling out Peter, said to him: "Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have *you*, that he may sift you as

wheat: but I have prayed for *thee;* and thou, when thou art converted, *confirm thy brethren.*"

And *after* He had delivered His commission to the Apostles assembled together, and sent them, as He was sent from the Father, bestowing on them the power to forgive sins, all which involved their Apostolate, He took an occasion, when Peter, James, and John, His most favoured disciples, and four others, were together, to address S. Peter singly in very memorable words. John xxi. 15:

"So when they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter: Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me *more than these?* He saith unto Him: Yea, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith unto him: Feed My lambs (Βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου).

"He saith to him again the second time: Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me? He saith unto him: Yea, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith unto him: Feed my sheep" (Ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου).

"He saith unto him the third time: Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me? Peter was grieved because he said unto him the third time: Lovest thou me? And he said unto Him: Lord, Thou knowest all things: Thou knowest that I love Thee. Jesus saith unto him: Feed my sheep" (Βόσκε τὰ πρόβατά μου).

These are all the passages, respecting their

own office and functions, spoken either to the Apostles in common, or to Peter singly; very few out of which to construct the government of the universal Church, were the Constructor less than God, but sufficient for Him whose word creates. Let us now sum up the powers conveyed in them: first those given to the Apostles in common: then those peculiar to Peter.

Of those given to the Apostles in common, the following are *ordinary*, that is, requisite for the perpetual government of the Church:

1. Offering the holy Sacrifice—"This do (τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, *hoc facite*, the sacrificial words) in remembrance of Me." In other words, Power over the natural Body of Christ.

2. Forgiving sins, in the Sacrament of Penance—"Whosesoever sins ye remit," &c. That is, Power over the mystical Body of Christ.

These make up the Priesthood.

3. Baptising—"Baptising them," &c.

4. Teaching and administering all other Sacraments and rites, and enjoining obedience to them—"Teaching them to observe all things," &c.

5. Inflicting and removing censures— } "Whatsoever ye shall bind," &c.

6. Binding by laws— }

7. The presence of Christ with them in this office to the end—"Lo, I am with you alway."

These involve the Episcopate.

The following are *extraordinary*, making up, in fact, the Apostolate, as distinguished from the Episcopate:

8. Immediate institution by Christ—"As My Father hath sent Me," &c.

9. Universal mission—"Go ye into all the world."

Now all these powers S. Peter shared in common with the other Apostles, and therefore in all these they were equal; but the following are peculiar to himself:

1. He is made the Rock, or foundation of the Church, next after Christ, and singly—"Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church."

2. To the Church, thus founded on him, perpetual continuance and victory are guaranteed—"The gates of Hell shall not prevail against it."

3. The keys of the kingdom of Heaven, that is, the symbol of supreme power, the mastership over the Lord's House, the guardianship of the Lord's City, are committed to him alone—"To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of Heaven."

4. The power of binding and loosing sins, of inflicting and removing censures, of enacting spiritual laws, given to him elsewhere *with* the Apostles, is here given to him singly—"And whatsoever thou shalt bind," &c.

5. The power of confirming his brethren, because his own faith should never fail.

6. The supreme pastorship of all Christ's flock is bestowed on him—"Feed My lambs—be shepherd over My sheep—feed My sheep."

Thus, comparing together what was given to the Apostles in common, and what was given to Peter singly, we find that:

1. He received many things alone—they nothing without him.

2. His powers can be exercised only by one—theirs by many.

3. His powers include theirs—not theirs his.

4. The ordinary government of the Church, promised and prefigured in the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, conveyed and summed up in "Feed My sheep," that is, the pastoral office—radiates from his person; the Episcopate is folded up in the Primacy.

Moreover, as to the continuance and descent of these powers, the same principle which leads all Churchmen to believe that the ordinary powers bestowed on the Apostles in common for the good of the Church are continued on to those who govern the Church for ever, leads also to the belief that the power bestowed on Peter likewise for the good of the Church continues on to his successors in like manner. Indeed, part of the promise is express on this head, assigning

perpetual continuance to the Church founded on Peter.

Further, we learn in what respects the Apostles were equal to Peter, and in what he was superior to them.

They were equal in the powers of the Episcopate;

They were equal also in those of the Apostolate, superadded to the former, that is, immediate institution by Christ, and universal mission;

They were inferior to him in one point only, which made up his Primacy, namely, that they must exercise all these powers in union with him, and in dependence on him: he had *singly* what they had *collectively* with him. He had promised and engaged to him, *first* and *alone*, the supreme government, a portion of which was afterwards promised to them with him; and after the Apostolate, granted to them all in common, he had the supervision of all intrusted to him alone. For even they were committed to his charge in the words, "Feed My sheep." And so he alone was the doorkeeper; he alone the shepherd of the fold; he alone the rock on which even they, as well as all other Christians, were built; in one word, he was their head, and so his Primacy is an *essential* part, nay, the crown and completion of the divine government of the Church; for the Body without a Head is no Body.

Thus were they all doctors of the whole world, as S. Cyril and S. Chrysostom tell us, yet under one, the leader of the band.

They could, and did, exercise jurisdiction, erect Bishops, and plant Churches, in all parts of the world, but it was in union with Peter, and in obedience to him.

His Primacy, then, consisted not in a superiority of *order*, but in a superiority of *jurisdiction*.

After the departure of the Apostles, this superiority of jurisdiction in the Primacy would be seen more clearly. For they communicated to none that universal mission which they themselves received from Christ, the Bishops whom they ordained having only a restricted field in which they exercised their powers; and it is manifest that our Lord in person instituted no Bishops after them. Thus these two privileges of the Apostolate, universal mission, and immediate institution by Christ, dropped. But S. Peter's Primacy, being distinct from his Apostolate, continued on. There was one still necessary to bear the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, and to feed all the sheep of the Lord's flock. That power, first promised, and last given, to Peter, the crown and key-stone of the arch, that which makes the whole Church one flock, was an universal Episcopate. Thus the Primacy is jurisdictional, with regard to all Bishops, as it was

with regard to the Apostles; and two powers emerge, of divine institution, for the government of the Church to the end of time—the Primacy and the Episcopate.

And the power thus given to Peter singly, *in promise*, that he should be the rock, the foundation of the Church, never to be moved from its place, the bearer of the keys, binding and loosing all in heaven and earth, in *fulfilment*, that he should be the one shepherd charged with the care of all the sheep,—this power is, of its own nature, *supreme*. It embraces the whole flock, as well as the different sheep; the Church collectively, as well as its members distributively. It reaches to every need which can arise. Once grasp its true nature, and you see that it cannot be limited by any power over which it is appointed itself to rule. Yet it is tempered by that one condition laid upon it by our Lord at its institution, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me more than these?" more than James, and more than John. This superior love is indeed needed by him who wields such a power in a kingdom built upon that love which sacrificed itself for the world; and that power itself is given for edification and not for destruction, but for that very reason is supreme, and answerable to Him alone who created it, and willed it to represent His Person upon earth.

All came from the Person of God the Word incarnate; all, therefore, is upheld from above, and not from below. All proceeded from One; all is concentrated in One. The Father is supreme, but he is a Father.

Now, in all this I have hitherto gone on the mere words of Scripture, which are so plain, so coherent, so decisive, that I cannot imagine a candid mind drawing any other conclusion from them.*

It is another argument, and no less a truth, that this view alone supplies a key to all antiqui-

* The writer has been censured by members of that party in the Anglican Church to which he formerly belonged, for saying that "he cannot conceive any candid mind drawing any other conclusion" from these texts, as if he had in so saying condemned himself for not having formerly drawn such conclusion from these very texts. But in point of fact *a modern contradictory tradition, inculcating as a first principle of belief that the Primacy of S. Peter, as continued in the Pope, is a corruption of Christianity*, had then possession of his mind, as it has possession of so many Protestant minds at present, and prevented his even studying what was said in Holy Writ with regard to this particular subject. Such a tradition makes a mind incapable of exercising candour, however much it may desire to do so. Though Protestants profess to go by the Bible alone, probably not one Protestant in a million has ever attempted to judge dispassionately of what is said in Scripture to Peter and to the other Apostles as to their power of governing the Church. It was already a ruled point in their minds. (*Note to Second Edition.*)

ty. Thus alone does the history of the Church become intelligible. A power of divine institution, deposited from the beginning within it, is seen to grow with its growth, to be the root on which it is planted, and the spring of its organisation; to enfold in itself, and develop from itself, all other powers, imparting force to each, and harmony to all.

And now I will select, out of ancient and modern times, the testimony of two great Bishops to this interpretation of Holy Scripture. One shall be the representative of the Fathers, the other of the present Church.

More than fourteen hundred years ago, the great Pope Leo, in the midst of an assembly of Bishops, collected from all Italy to commemorate the anniversary of his pontificate, thus exhibited the mind of the Church in the middle of the fifth century respecting the See of Peter:

"Although, then, beloved, our partaking in that gift (of unity) be a great subject for common joy, yet it were a better and more excellent course of rejoicing, if ye rest not in the consideration of our humility; more profitable and more worthy by far it is to raise the mind's eye unto the contemplation of the most blessed Apostle Peter's glory, and to celebrate this day chiefly in the honour of him *who was watered with streams so copious from the very fountain of all graces*,

that while nothing has passed to others without his participation, yet he received many special privileges of his own. The Word made flesh already was dwelling in us, and Christ had given up Himself whole to restore the race of man. Nothing was unordered to His wisdom; nothing difficult to His power. Elements were obeying, spirits ministering, angels serving; it was impossible that mystery could fail of its effect, in which the Unity and the Trinity of the Godhead itself was at once working. *And yet out of the whole world Peter alone is chosen to preside over the calling of all the Gentiles, and over all the Apostles and the collected Fathers of the Church; so that, though there be among the people of God many priests and many shepherds, yet Peter rules all by immediate commission, whom Christ also rules by sovereign power. Beloved, it is a great and wonderful participation of His own power which the Divine condescendence gave to this man; and if He willed that other rulers should enjoy aught together with him, yet never did He give, save through him, what He denied not to others.* In fine, the Lord asks all the Apostles what men think of Him; and they answer in common so long as they set forth the doubtfulness of human ignorance. But when what the disciples think is required, he who is first in Apostolic dignity is first also in confession of the Lord. And when he had said: 'Thou

art Christ, the Son of the living God,' Jesus answered him: 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but My Father which is in Heaven:'—that is, Thou art blessed, because My Father hath taught thee; nor hath opinion of the earth deceived thee, but inspiration from Heaven instructed thee; and not flesh and blood hath shown Me to thee, but He whose only-begotten Son I am. 'And I,' saith He, 'say unto thee,'—that is, as My Father hath manifested to thee My Godhead, so I too make known unto thee thine own pre-eminence,—'For thou art Peter,' that is, whilst I am the immutable Rock; I the Corner-Stone who make both one; I the Foundation beside which no one can lay another; *yet thou also art a Rock, because by My virtue thou art firmly planted, so that whatever is peculiar to Me by power, is to thee by participation common with Me*,—'and upon this Rock I will build My Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it;"—on this strength, saith He, I will build an eternal temple, and My Church, which in its height shall reach the Heaven, shall rise upon the firmness of this faith.

"This confession the gates of Hell shall not restrain, nor the chains of death fetter; for that voice is the voice of life. And as it raises those who confess it unto heavenly places, so it plunges

those who deny it into Hell. Wherefore it is said to most blessed Peter: 'I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven.' *The privilege of this power did indeed pass on to the other Apostles, and the order of this decree spread out to all the rulers of the Church, but not without purpose what is intended for all is put into the hands of one. For therefore is this intrusted to Peter singularly, because all the rulers of the Church are invested with the figure of Peter.* The privilege, therefore, of Peter remaineth, wheresoever judgment is passed according to his equity. Nor can severity or indulgence be excessive, where nothing is bound, nothing loosed, save what blessed Peter either bindeth or looseth. Again, as that Passion drew on which was about to shake the firmness of His disciples, the Lord saith: 'Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat; but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren, that ye enter not into temptation.' The danger from the temptation of fear was common to all the Apostles, and they equally needed the help of Divine protection, since the devil desired to dismay, to make a wreck of all: *and yet the*

Lord takes care of Peter in particular, and asks specially for the faith of Peter, as if the state of the rest would be more certain, if the mind of their chief were not overcome. So then in Peter the strength of all is fortified, and the help of Divine grace is so ordered that the stability which through Christ is given to Peter, through Peter is conveyed to the Apostles.

"Since then, beloved, we see such a protection divinely granted to us, reasonably and justly do we rejoice in the merits and dignity of our chief, rendering thanks to the Eternal King, our Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ, *for having given so great a power to him whom He made chief of the whole Church*, that if any thing, even in our time, by us be rightly done and rightly ordered, it is to be ascribed to his working, to his guidance, unto whom it was said: 'And thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren;' and to whom the Lord, after His resurrection, in answer to the triple profession of eternal love, thrice said, with mystical intent: 'Feed My sheep.' And this, beyond a doubt, the pious shepherd does even now, and fulfils the charge of his Lord, confirming us with his exhortations, and not ceasing to pray for us, that we may be overcome by no temptation. But if, as we must believe, he every where discharges this affectionate guardianship to all the people of God, how much

more will he condescend to grant his help unto us his children, among whom, on the sacred couch of his blessed repose, he resteth in the same flesh in which he ruled? To him, therefore, let us ascribe this anniversary day of us his servant, and this festival, by whose advocacy we have been thought worthy to share his seat itself, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ helping us in all things, who liveth and reigneth with God the Father and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever." *

I defer to a later place the proof how exactly all this accords with the doctrine of S. Augustine, and the Fathers who preceded him.

Now let us pass on through twelve centuries to another scene, where a Bishop, at the court of a sovereign intoxicated with power, and most jealous of his temporal rights as sovereign, set forth to the Gallican Episcopate solemnly assembled the doctrines to be gathered from these words of Scripture.

"Listen: this is the mystery of Catholic unity, and the immortal principle of the Church's beauty. True beauty comes from health; what makes the Church strong, makes her fair: her unity makes her fair, her unity makes her strong. United from within by the Holy Spirit, she has besides a common bond of her outward commu-

* S. Leo, Serm. iv. tom. i. pp. 15-19.

nion, and must remain united by a government in which the authority of Jesus Christ is represented. Thus one unity guards the other, and, under the seal of ecclesiastical government, the unity of the spirit is preserved. What is this government? What is its form? Let us say nothing of ourselves; let us open the Gospel; the Lamb has opened the seals of that sacred book, and the tradition of the Church has explained all.

"We shall find in the Gospel that Jesus Christ, willing to *commence* the mystery of unity in His Church, among all His disciples chose twelve; but that, willing to *consummate* the mystery of unity in the same Church, among the twelve He chose one. 'He called His disciples,' says the Gospel; here are all; 'and among them He chose twelve.' Here is a first separation, and the Apostles chosen. 'And these are the names of the twelve Apostles: the first, Simon, who is called Peter.' Here, in a second separation, S. Peter is set at the head, and called for that reason by the name of Peter, 'which Jesus Christ,' says S. Mark, 'had given him,' in order to prepare, as you will see, the work which He was proposing, to raise all His building on that stone.

"All this is yet but a commencement of the mystery of unity. Jesus Christ, in beginning it,

still spoke to many: 'Go ye, preach ye; I send you;' but when He would put the last hand to the mystery of unity, He speaks no longer to many: He marks out Peter personally, and by the new name which He has given him. It is One who speaks to one: Jesus Christ the Son of God to Simon son of Jonas: Jesus Christ, who is the true Stone, strong of Himself, to Simon, who is only the stone by the strength which Jesus Christ imparts to him. It is to him that Christ speaks, and in speaking acts on him, and stamps upon him His own immovableness. 'And I,' He says, 'say unto thee, Thou art Peter; and,' He adds, 'upon this rock I will build My Church, and,' He concludes, 'the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.' To prepare him for that honour Jesus Christ, who knows that faith in Himself is the foundation of His Church, inspires Peter with a faith worthy to be the foundation of that admirable building, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' By that bold preaching of the faith he draws to himself the inviolable promise which makes him the foundation of the Church. The word of Jesus Christ, who out of nothing makes what pleases Him, gives this strength to a mortal. *Say not, think not, that this ministry of S. Peter terminates with him: that which is to serve for support to an eternal Church can never have an end.* Peter will live

in his successors. Peter will always speak in his chair. This is what the Fathers say. This is what six-hundred and thirty Bishops at the Council of Chalcedon confirm.

"But consider briefly what follows — Jesus Christ pursues His design; and, after having said to Peter, the eternal preacher of the faith, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church,' He adds: 'And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven.' Thou, who hast the prerogative of preaching the faith, thou shalt have likewise the keys which mark the authority of government: 'What thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven: and what thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven.' *All is subjected to these keys: all, my brethren, kings and nations, pastors and flocks:* we declare it with joy, for we love unity, and hold obedience to be our glory. It is Peter who is ordered first to love more than all the other Apostles, and then 'to feed,' and govern all, both 'the lambs and the sheep,' the young ones, and the mothers, and the pastors themselves: *pastors in regard to the people, and sheep in regard to Peter;* in him they honour Jesus Christ, confessing likewise that with reason greater love is asked of him, forasmuch as he has a greater dignity with a greater charge; and that among us, under the discipline of a Master such as ours,

according to his word it must be, that the first be as He, by charity the servant of all.

"Thus S. Peter appears the first in all things: the first to confess the faith; the first in the obligation to exercise love; the first of all the Apostles who saw Jesus Christ risen, as he was to be the first witness of it before all the people; the first when the number of the Apostles was to be filled up; the first who confirmed the faith by a miracle; the first to convert the Jews; the first to receive the Gentiles; the first every where.

"You have seen this unity in the Holy See, would you see it in the whole episcopal order and college? Still it is in S. Peter that it must appear, and still in these words: 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind shall be bound; whatsoever thou shalt loose shall be loosed.' All the Popes and all the Holy Fathers have taught it with a common consent. Yes, my brethren, these great words, in which you have seen so clearly the Primacy of S. Peter, have set up Bishops, since the force of their ministry consists in binding or loosing those who believe or believe not their word. Thus this divine power of binding and loosing is a necessary annexment, and, as it were, the final seal of the preaching which Jesus Christ has intrusted to them; and you see, in passing, the whole order

of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Therefore, the same who said to Peter: 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind shall be bound; whatsoever thou shalt loose shall be loosed,' has said the same thing to all the Apostles, and has said to them, moreover: 'Whosesoever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they shall be retained.' What is to bind, but to retain? What to loose, but to remit? And the same who gives to Peter this power, gives it also with His own mouth to all the Apostles: 'As My Father hath sent Me, so,' says He, 'send I you.' A power better established, or a mission more immediate, cannot be seen. So He breathes equally on all. On all He diffuses the same Spirit with that breath, in saying: 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost,' and the rest that we have quoted.

"*It was, then, clearly the design of Jesus Christ to put first in one alone, what afterwards He meant to put in several; but the sequence does not reverse the beginning, nor the first lose his place. That first word, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind,' said to one alone, has already ranged under his power each one of those to whom shall be said, 'Whatsoever ye shall remit;' for the promises of Jesus Christ, as well as His gifts, are without repentance; and what is once given indefinitely and universally is irrevocable: besides, that power given to several*

carries its restrictions in its division, whilst power given to one alone, and over all, and without exception, carries with it plenitude, and, not having to be divided with any other, it has no bounds save those which its terms convey.

"Thus the mystery is understood: all receive the same power, and all from the same source; but not all in the same degree, nor with the same extent; for Jesus Christ communicates Himself in such measure as pleases Him, and always in the manner most suitable to establish the unity of His Church. This is why He begins with the first, and in that first He forms the whole, and Himself develops in order what He has put in one. 'And Peter,' says S. Augustine, 'who in the honour of his primacy represented the whole Church,'* receives also the first, and the only one at first, the keys which should afterwards be communicated to all the rest,† in order that we may learn, according to the doctrine of a holy Bishop of the Gallican Church,* that the ecclesiastical authority, first established in the person of one alone, has only been diffused on the condition of being always brought back to the principle of its unity, and that all those who shall have

* S. Augustine. † S. Optatus.
‡ Cæsarius of Arles to Pope Symmachus.

to exercise it ought to hold themselves inseparably united to the same chair.

"This is that Roman chair so celebrated by the Fathers, which they have vied with each other in exalting as 'the chiefship of the Apostolic See;'* 'the superior chiefship;'† 'the source of unity;'‡ 'that most holy throne which has the headship over all the Churches of the world;'§ 'the head of the Episcopate, the chiefship of the universal Church:'‖ 'the head of pastoral honour to the world;'¶ 'the head of the members;'** 'the single chair, in which all keep unity.'†† In these words you hear S. Optatus, S. Augustine, S. Cyprian, S. Irenæus, S. Prosper, S. Avitus, S. Theodoret, the Council of Chalcedon, and the rest; Africa, Gaul, Greece, Asia, the East and the West together."‡‡

Now, when S. Leo publicly in such an undoubting manner set forth from Holy Scripture itself the peculiar privileges of S. Peter's See, did he go beyond the minds of his hearers and the belief of his age? So far from it that the Eastern Church, ever most jealous in this respect, assembled in a council of more than six hundred

* S. August. Ep. 43.
† S. Irenæus, iii. 3.
‡ S. Cyp. Ep. 73.
§ Theodoret, Ep. 116.
‖ S. Avitus ad Faust.
¶ S. Prosper de Ingrat.
** Council of Chalcedon to S. Leo.
†† S. Optat. 2 cont. Parm.
‡‡ Bossuet, Sermon sur l'Unité.

Bishops, of which two only, the Pope's own legates, were from the West, of its own accord, and in the solemn act of a synodal letter, addresses this very S. Leo in terms equivalent to his own, which are even unintelligible save upon the principles of S. Leo's discourse.* They acknowledge him as sitting in the place of Peter; "the interpreter to all of the voice of the blessed Peter," they declare that "he presided over them as the head over the members;" they ask for his consent to their acts, "because every success of the children is reckoned to the parents who own it;" they tell him that "he is intrusted by the Saviour with the guardianship of the vineyard," and that, "shining himself in the full light of Apostolic radiance, he had, with habitual regard, often extended this likewise to the Church of Constantinople, inasmuch as he could afford, without grudging, to impart his own blessings to his kindred;" they pray him, as "they had introduced agreement with the head in good things, so let the head fulfil to the children what is fitting;" and finally they say that the whole force of their acts will depend on his confirmation.

I see not that the most vigorous defender of S. Peter's rights has ever claimed for him greater power than S. Leo exercised at the Council of

* Mansi, vi. 147–155.

Chalcedon, or greater than here, of its own accord, the Council attributes to him.

On the same basis of Holy Scripture the Council of Lateran, A.D. 1215, sets its decree: "The Roman Church, *by the disposition of the Lord*, holds the chiefship of ordinary power over all the rest, as being the mother and mistress of all the faithful of Christ."*

At the Council of Lyons, A.D. 1274, the Greeks were admitted to communion, confessing that "the holy Roman Church holds a supreme and full primacy and headship over the whole Catholic Church, which she truly and humbly acknowledges to have received from the Lord Himself, in the person of blessed Peter, the prince or head of the Apostles, whose successor is the Roman Pontiff, with plenitude of power."†

And the Council of Florence declares, that "the holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff hold a primacy over the whole world; and that the Roman Pontiff himself is successor of blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, and true Vicar of Christ, and Head of the whole Church, and is Father and Doctor of all Christians; and that to him, in the person of blessed Peter, full power was delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ to feed, to rule, and to govern the universal Church, as

* Mansi, xxii. 990. † Ibid. xxiv. 71.

also is contained in the acts of Ecumenical Councils, and in the sacred canons." *

Surely the definition of these three later Councils, to which, in their day, the Church of England was bound, and from obedience to which I have never been able to learn in what way she has been delivered, asserts no more either than the words of our Lord Himself in the Holy Scripture, or than those of the Council of Chalcedon, in the middle of the fifth century, to which the Church of England still professes obedience.

Nor can I see how any honest mind can draw from our Lord's words and acts any other meaning than that set forth by S. Leo in the fifth century, and by Bossuet in the seventeenth century.

This, then, is the testimony of the Holy Scripture, and this is the interpretation of the Church, respecting the Roman Primacy. If, through eighteen hundred years, two things alone have remained unshaken, the Christian Faith and the Apostolic See, perhaps it is because he who confessed, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," was forthwith made the Rock, against which every storm should strike in vain.

* Ibid. xxxi. 1031.

Section JJJ.

THE END AND OFFICE OF THE PRIMACY.

"Holy Father, keep through Thine own name those whom Thou hast given Me, that they may be one, as we are. . . . . As Thou hast sent Me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world. And for their sakes I sanctify Myself, that they also might be sanctified through the truth. Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on Me through their word; that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us: that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me. And the glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them; that they may be one, even as We are one: I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one; and that the world may know that Thou hast sent Me, and hast loved them, as Thou hast loved Me." *

"The promises of Jesus Christ, as well as His gifts, are without repentance;" † and the prayers of Jesus Christ are ever accomplished.

* John xvii. † Bossuet, Sermon sur l'Unité.

In this most sacred of all prayers, He tells us the purpose of His mission into the world: "I have finished the work which Thou gavest Me to do:" and that work, to set up in the world, and out of the world, but not of the world, an unity, of which the model and prototype is, the unity of the Most Holy Trinity: "that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us;" and a *visible unity*, for its effect should be, "that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me."

Our Lord is praying for His Church, and in so doing He sets it before us in its double unity,—the unity of the Body, and the unity of the Spirit; its unity as one visible society, and its unity as one spiritual system: unities which may be in thought distinguished and considered separately, but which in fact involve each other, and are inseparable. "There is one Body, and one Spirit," even as there is "one Lord," who is in two natures, of which the human has a body, and the divine is pure spirit; and "one faith," in that same Christ, the Son of the living God.

And now let us refer back the nature of each of these unities to its great model and exemplar, the Most Holy Trinity.

I. First, as to the unity of the Body.

What is that unity wherein the Father and the Son are one? It is an unity of essence and

of origin. The Father is God, and the Son is God, and yet there are not two Gods, because the Godhead of the Son is derived from the Father; nor are there three, though the Holy Spirit is equally God, because His Godhead proceeds from the same fountain of Deity in the Father, through the Son.

What is the unity of the Church as a visible society—that one holy Catholic Church in which we all so often profess our belief? It is an unity of essence and of origin in its government, the one indivisible Episcopate. "Episcopatus unus, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur."

Our Lord, in His prayer, deduces all from His own mission; "as Thou hast *sent* Me into the world, even so have I also *sent* them into the world." The fountain of this visible unity, the root of this divine society, the source of all power to govern it, was in that divine Person to whom Peter said: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." Who by His answer communicated—for His promises, like His gifts, are without repentance—to the speaker that fountain, that root, and that power: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven." Here our Lord *marked out* one man as the head, after Himself, of that

visible unity, which He had come into the world to set up. And when the work of redemption was complete, He *conferred* on that same man the power which He had here promised; "Simon, son of Jonas, feed My sheep." So S. Augustine, inheriting the doctrine of S. Cyprian, tells us: "He saith to Peter, *in whose single person He casts the mould of His Church:* Peter, lovest thou Me?" *

Our Lord, throughout His Gospel, calls that one visible society a kingdom,—this is he to whom He gave its keys; and one fold,—this is its shepherd; and a family,—this is the elder brother to whom He said: Confirm thy brethren; and a household,—this is "the faithful and wise steward," whom the Lord hath made ruler over it; Solomon calls it an army,—this is its general; and S. Paul a body,—this is, after Christ, its head.

For it was to remain, from the Lord's first coming to His second, a kingdom, a fold, a family, a household, an army, and a body; all which are visible unities. How, then, should it not have a visible head to all these? How should not he, to whom the Lord departing said, "Feed My sheep," continue in the person of his successors to feed them for ever, till the great Shepherd should appear at His manifestation?

* Serm. cxlvii. c. 2.

This is what General Councils have exclaimed: "Peter hath spoken by Leo,"* "Peter hath spoken by Agatho." This is what the whole line of Saints has believed, and in this faith has lived and died: "Blessed Peter, who in his own see lives and rules, grants to those who seek it the truth of the faith."†

What is that which makes a kingdom one?—the derivation of all jurisdiction from its sovereign; or an army one?—the concentration of all authority in its general; or a household one, but the rule of its master? or a body one, but the perpetual influence of its head? or what unites the countless sheep of the visible Church in one fold here on earth, but the one shepherd, who represents the Lord?

Two sovereigns, two generals with supreme power, two masters, two heads, two shepherds, destroy altogether the idea of these respective unities.

But our Lord takes us higher than these. He prays that "they may be one, as We are." Now two or more sources of deity would make two or more gods. So two or more sources of power in His Church, viewed as a visible society, would make two or more Churches. But He willed that Church to be one for ever, and He made it

* The Council of Chalcedon, and the Sixth Council, in 680.
† S. Peter Chrysologus to the heretic Eutyches.

one by the unity of source in its perpetual government. He set up one indivisible Episcopate, which had not its like in things of Earth, and found its exemplar only in the divine essence; in that unity of three Persons which consists in having one source of deity.

The ancient Saint, who speaks of "one Episcopate, a part of which is held by each without division of the whole," is in that same place setting forth precisely this unity of the Church, as springing from one source. He asks why men are deceived; and he answers, because "they do not return to *the origin of truth*, nor *seek the head.*" In that case there "would not be need of arguments." What is this origin? who this head? he goes on. The Lord says to Peter: "Thou art Peter," &c. On his single person He builds His Church. This person of Peter he points out as the source of many rays, the root of a tree spreading into many branches, the fountain-head of countless streams fertilising the earth. Yet in all these "unity is preserved in the origin." It is evident that so long as the unity abides, the origin must abide too; he is contemplating an ever-springing source of an ever-living power. And he then refers to the Holy Trinity as the type of this: "The Lord says: I and the Father are one. And, again, of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, it

is written: And these three are one. And does any body believe that this unity, coming from the divine solidity, cohering by means of heavenly sacraments, *can possibly* be divided in the Church, and divorced by the collision of wills?" So Pope Symmachus (A.D. 500) says: "After the manner of the Trinity, whose power is one and indivisible, there is one Episcopate in diverse prelates." God the Father is the source of this power in the Godhead, and S. Peter's chair of this unity in the Episcopate. S. Cyprian and S. Symmachus are equally setting forth this prayer of our Lord.

Let the Church be extended to any degree in the number of her Bishops, yet she is one, and they are one, in "the unity of origin;" not merely in that Peter *was* one "from whom the very Episcopate and all the authority of this title sprung;"* but in that Peter *is* still one, and that now, in the nineteenth century, just as when S. Leo said it in the fifth: "If any thing, even in our time, by us be rightly done and rightly ordered, it is to be ascribed to his working, to his guidance, unto whom it was said: 'And thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren:' and to whom the Lord, after His resurrection, in answer to the triple profession of eternal love, thrice said with mystical intent: 'Feed My

* S. Innocent to the Council of Milevi.

sheep.' And this, beyond a doubt, the pious shepherd does even now, and fulfils the charge of his Lord."

In truth, we are living men, with living souls, and we need a living Church, and not a dead one. Those who can bear that the Body of Christ should be corrupt, may also endure that it once was alive, but is now dead; or that it once was one, but is now three. All these three notions can indeed only be expressed by an honest word which arose in a dishonest time;—they are a *sham*, and they who put them forward do not at the bottom believe either in the one Body or in the one Spirit; for it is evident that the one Body perishes when the one Spirit ceases to animate it. What will it help the wandering soul to tell it, there was once a teacher sent from God, but he has ceased to bear God's commission? Or the wrecked mariner, there was once a ship, which rode the waves bravely, but it is not now within your reach? And what will it help one who is longing, aching, perishing, for the truth, to answer, there once was a Church, "the pillar and ground of the truth," and so it remained, as long as it was undivided, that is, for many hundred years; but it *is* divided now, and therefore is now no longer the pillar and ground of the truth; but stay where you are, and hold all which that Church held, and you will be safe?

This is Anglicanism.

Was it for this that our Lord prayed, "that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us: that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me"?

Or does S. Peter still sit in his one chair? Is he still the living source of a living Episcopate? Does he still proclaim, with the voice of the one universal Church: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God"? Does he still hear in answer: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it"?

This is Catholicism.

"Peter," says S. Augustine, "represented the very universality and unity of the Church."* And this Episcopate, which has its living source in the person of Peter's successor, and its centre in his chair, which is thus derived from him, and perpetually carried back to him, can and does embrace the whole earth, extends unto all nations, for no difference of race or speech is "foreign" to the household of saints, makes all languages one, for it has the Pentecostal gift, and this is surely universality; and yet is gathered up, directed, influenced, held together, by one, a Bishop himself, and having a particular flock, a

* Serm. 295.

Bishop of Bishops, and having an universal one, and this is surely unity. The whole Episcopate is morticed into that rock of Peter, by which it is one and immovable. Separate a portion of it from that rock, and it is no longer "one Episcopate, a part of which is held by each *without division of the whole.*" That division mars all. With unity strength, and with strength courage, departs, and the spring of its power is gone; it no longer stands in one place; its footing is lost; the powers of the world set their feet on its neck; and for that one voice, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God," which is the voice of the Rock, it is much if it do not cry when the world accuses it, "I know not the man." To "One Body and one Spirit, one Lord and one Faith," what is added?—"One Baptism." And by those who do not stand on Peter's Rock this one Baptism for the remission of sins will be declared a difficult and mysterious doctrine, understood by pious minds in different ways, and therefore not to be imposed on any. To make God's truth an open question is to deny the Lord when you are accused of being His disciple.

But impart that one and true Episcopate to as many as you will, its voice will be one and its power one, its rule equal, its courage unswerving, because the "unity of its origin" is one, and

"the Catholic Church throughout all the world will be one bridal chamber of Christ." *

The end and office of the Primacy, therefore, in respect to the Church as a visible society, is the maintenance of unity, which is upheld now and through all time, and in all countries, as it was in the upper chamber of Jerusalem, because the source of its organisation is one.

II. But this unity is itself subservient to a higher one: that most sacred Body of the Lord, beside His reasonable soul, is inhabited by the eternal Spirit of His Godhead; and this, His mystical Body, has too its Spirit,—the Spirit of truth, leading it into all truth. This outward framework has a system of divine teaching committed to it, a perpetual deposit. Of this too the Lord said: "The glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them; that they may be one, even as We are one: I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one, and that the world may know that Thou hast sent Me." How are the Father and the Son one?—By the Holy Spirit, which is their love. How is the Church one?—By that Holy Spirit dwelling in her. How is the voice of that Spirit made known?—By that same organ of visible unity; by that Rock which cries, "Thou art Christ, the

* Decree of Pope Gelasius and seventy Bishops, A.D. 494, determining the Canon of Scripture. *Mansi*, viii. 147.

Son of the living God :" by him who perpetually confirms his brethren ; by him who is charged that he love more than all, because he has the charge of the whole flock. Peter calls his brethren together, Peter asks their counsel, Peter collects their suffrages, Peter confirms their voice. In so doing, he represents their universality ; or, again, as the one chief shepherd, as the one keeper of the door and holder of the keys, as having in himself the power to bind and to loose all, even the whole number of his brethren, whether collected, or distributed in their several pastures, he pronounces himself, and in so doing he represents their unity. United with a general council, he shows to the world that the Church is universal ; from his own watch-tower, the loftiest of all, he proclaims to that same world that she is one.*

Where Peter speaks, you have one faith, one homogeneous and harmonious system of teaching—sacraments which embrace the whole spiritual life from the cradle to the grave. He teaches that infants are received into God's kingdom by the laver of regeneration in Baptism, nor are his disciples shocked at his voice; because he likewise teaches them, that if those who have received this divine gift sin, they can only recover it by penance : they must enter afresh into that kingdom out of which they have wantonly

* This thought is from De Maistre ; I forget the reference.

cast themselves, by the second baptism of tears, and the plank which remains for the shipwrecked: where Peter's voice is not heard, the doctrine of Baptism is either taught without the doctrine of penance, and then it becomes at once a stumbling-block, or it is not taught at all, and the whole sacramental system is overthrown. He teaches, moreover, that our Lord has established a real ministry for the forgiveness of sins, and bestowed on men a real power to consecrate His Body, the source of unspeakable blessings to men, the inexhaustible fountain of sanctity, the spring of superhuman love. This it is which enables him to ask of those who listen to his teaching the surrender of their dearest affections, and the life of angels upon earth. And he teaches this, not in an ambiguous, hesitating manner, as one rather ashamed of his message, who would rather insinuate than state what he had to say; but he is plain-spoken in his premises, bold and consistent in his deductions.

From the Divinity of our Lord's Person he infers, that the Lord's Mother has an office and a function in His kingdom of love: from the reality of His Eucharistic Presence He proclaims that Saints live and reign with Him, hear prayers, and work miracles. The world listens, and sneers, and cavils, and disbelieves, is affronted, abuses, persecutes; but the elect are converted and saved.

Go to those who once acknowledged Peter as their Doctor and Teacher, who left him in possession of his full inheritance, and you will find this consistent and harmonious system mainly held indeed, but somehow afflicted with sterility, a "Church in petrifaction," as some one has called it.

Go to those who left Peter denouncing him as a corrupter of God's truth, as Antichrist sitting in Christ's seat, and you find this Divine system broken into fragments: some holding one part, and some another, all exaggerating what they have, and depreciating what they have not, and misunderstanding the whole. There is no longer any agreement, no longer the shadow of one faith. The dissentients broke into numberless bodies, and have been breaking off more and more ever since: they set out with acknowledging an authority, which they put in themselves, but they finish with denying that there is any, and proclaiming as their indefeasible right the liberty to judge Scripture for themselves, and to deduce from it what seems good to such private judgment: a corollary to which in a tolerant and luxurious age like our own, is this, that every one has indeed a right to his own opinion, but that no one should impose such opinion on his neighbour; and thus all truth is got rid of.

Or if there be one part of those dissentients in

whom from the beginning there was more worldly policy than sincerity of belief, however erroneous; if there was one province of Christ's mystical kingdom, on which Cæsar had cast longing eyes, and said in his heart: "Give me but the sceptre of Christ, and I shall be omnipotent:" think you that worldly law and Cæsar's policy have had power to arrest the downward descent, to maintain the one inheritance of faith, to set it forth in its simplicity and purity? Alas! what do you find?—ambiguous formularies, studiously so drawn up to be signed in different senses by those who minister at the same altar: a system so ill compacted, that those who believe in sacraments are tormented by one half which they engage to maintain, and those who disbelieve them have to drug their consciences as to the other half; and these two parties, opposed in every principle of their belief, this bundle of Luthero-Calvinist heresies stifling Catholic truths, held together by a civil law, and by the anxiety of a State,—which has no conscience of its own, and looks on all dogma with sheer indifference,—to wield a weapon of great influence, a system based on worldly comfort and outward respectability, instead of the pure unearthly aims, the keen faith, and self-denying life, of the one Bride of Christ.

Can this be that of which our Lord spake?—

"that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us: that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me."

What, on the other hand, is the belief which has been from the first at the very heart of the Church, which has inspirited her members from age to age to stand against the world, to disregard its frowns, to think a life well spent in maintaining a point of doctrine, and death endured in behalf of any part of her teaching, a martyrdom? What else but that there is one faith lodged within her, which it is her very function to guard, set forth, and apply, to unfold from the germ to the full and perfect fruit, to draw from the pregnant sentences and short intimations of Holy Writ, to harmonise and arrange, distribute and portion out, so that man, woman, and child, may find in it their stay, that Saints may grow up under its nurture, and its fruit be for the healing of the nations? And, what is part and parcel of this belief, that as our Lord's presence was with Peter and his brethren, in those first days, and throughout their ministry, so it would be evermore. The Comforter, whom He had promised, was not to be given for one generation, or one century, or two or four, and then to be withdrawn, but for ever. He could not fail the body in which He dwelt, while Peter

presided over it in person; as little could He fail, in the fifth century, when one of Peter's successors presided in his place; as little in the ninth, or the twelfth, or the fifteenth; as little in the nineteenth, or in any to come. *For to suppose His failing is to ignore the whole idea on which the Church is built:* it is to turn the mystical body of Christ into a school of philosophy, a branch of learning. Had it been so, the Lower Empire would have corrupted it, the Barbarians have swept it away with sword and flame, the Reformation have torn it to pieces, and Voltaire laughed it out of the world.

Not a Council which ever sat, not a Father who ever wrote, not a martyr who ever suffered, but believed in a perpetual illuminating grace of the Holy Spirit dwelling in the Church of God to the end of time. Without it Councils and Fathers would not have existed, and still less martyrs. Men do not suffer for *opinions*, but for faith. And now, as age after age went on, as the Church burst the limits of the Roman Empire, and added nation after nation to her sway, as she passed the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, what power within her was to hold together that wide system of teaching worked out into such manifold detail? What power to eject from her bosom heresy after heresy, which by the will of God was to arise and try her, winnow the wheat,

and scatter the chaff? That same power which guarded and maintained the unity and universality of her outward framework became the voice of the Holy Spirit within her, defining and ordering her faith. Her Episcopate did not break into fragments within each separate nation, and constitute systems of government coextensive with their several sovereignties, because the perpetual fountain of the one Episcopate had its spring and plenitude in S. Peter's See, and every individual who held a part of it held it *without division of the whole:* and her faith remained one, homogeneous, and complete, because it was the faith of Peter, which could not fail, because the one Shepherd led the whole flock into the same pastures, because as Peter had spoken by Leo and spoken by Agatho, so likewise he spoke by Innocent and by Pius; so he gathers the voices of his brethren now lifted from eight hundred provinces to one throne, weighs them in his wisdom, and gives them a single expression and an universal potency. He who breaks from the Body of the Universal Pastor commits schism; he who disregards the voice of the Universal Pastor falls into heresy. S. Celestine judged Nestorius, and S. Leo judged Eutyches; and their heresies were cast out of the Church, and carried with them the whole sacramental system of the Church, and an indisputable Episcopal Succession; they laid hold

of nations, and lasted for centuries; their heresies might seem to men of the world subtle metaphysical misconceptions. I doubt not that six of the most learned lawyers, of the most unimpeachable integrity, which England could produce, would pronounce that both were "open questions," and might be innocently held; and that men's "consciences must be set on hair-triggers," to fight about such things. But nevertheless two Popes judged those heresies, and God has judged them too; their prestige is past away; no civil power finds it worth while any longer to live upon them. But the Church of God goes on still upon her course; the voice of Peter still lives within her. She is still one in her outward framework, one in her inward belief; she still claims to be obeyed and trusted, because the See of Peter is within her, and the presence which cannot fail, the power which enunciates truths, and make Saints, has its organ in that voice, and abides by that rock.

Section IV.

THE POWER OF THE PRIMACY.

We have seen that the *end* for which our Lord instituted the Primacy was the maintenance of unity in His mystical Body, its twofold unity of a great visible society, and a great spiritual system of belief; in other words, of communion, and of faith. From His own divine Person as the God-Man, the visible society, and the faith which animates it, sprang; and He established unity both in the one and in the other for ever, by appointing one from age to age to represent that Person, and in that capacity to be the ever-springing source of all power to govern the society, the ever-living voice which gives expression to its belief.

The man so selected was S. Peter; and what S. Peter was in the Apostolic Body, every successor of his has been, is, and shall be to the end of time in the "One Episcopate, in which a part is held by each *without division of the whole.*"

The *end* for which the Primacy was instituted guides us, then, to the nature of its *power*, which

is, a jurisdiction universal, immediate, and supreme.

How was this conveyed? In a manner quite in accordance with other acts of our Lord and with His teaching.

Is He not wont to gather up all His dispensations in a few words of profound depth and meaning, which perhaps it will require ages to develop? What are His parables but so many pictures, which convey to us, each without crowding, and in space incredibly small, the nature of His kingdom, the working of His grace, the fortunes of His Church?

It would seem as if He delighted to repeat in language, the poor vehicle of human thought, the miracles which He works in nature, when He paints on the retina of the eye a boundless and varied landscape, every object in its due proportion, every colour and form preserved, on a point of space so minute.

In the most ancient of all prophecies He summed up the whole of His revelation to man, all that He Himself was to do, and much that yet remains to be unfolded, at "the restitution of all things," when He declared that the Seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head. All subsequent prophecy was but the unfolding of this.

So in the creation of His mystical Body He set

forth in a word the person of its ruler, and the nature of its perpetual government.

He spoke to Peter *once in promise:* "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven."

And *once in performance:* "Feed My lambs; be shepherd over My sheep: feed My sheep."

It was the voice of the Creator, summing up His work in a word, for hence the whole organisation of His Church has sprung. Age after age was to bring to light more and more the force of these words. Time has not yet exhausted the first prophecy, nor has it told us all which is contained in His words to Peter.

But thus from the first the Primacy *contained* the Episcopate; and the privileges of Metropolitans, Primates, and Patriarchs, are but emanations from the fountain-head, which sends forth larger or lesser streams as the case may require, but remains itself full.

The Priest is the centre of unity, both as to communion and faith, in his parish; the Bishop in his diocese; but he who heard "Feed My sheep," in the whole Episcopate; which he represents and carries in his person, which sprung forth originally from that person, and is now maintained in it.

Is this a new belief? Nay, it is the doctrine of all antiquity, the *only* view which ancient Saints give us of the government of Christ's Church; the only view which will give connection and harmony to the facts of Ecclesiastical history.

This is what S. Cyprian meant when he called S. Peter's chair "the root and womb of the Catholic Church.'" *

Or let us take the public letters of the most ancient Popes which have come down to us,—documents incomparably more authoritative than the words of any particular Father, because, though signed by the Pope alone, they were the acts of his Council likewise, transmitted to Primates of provinces, by them to be communicated to Bishops, and received as having the force of laws.

Pope Boniface I., A.D. 422, to whom S. Augustine dedicated one of his works, thus writes to the Bishops of Thessaly:

"*The formation of the Universal Church at its birth took its beginning from the honour of blessed Peter, in whose person its regimen and sum consists. For from his fountain the stream of Ecclesiastical discipline flowed forth into all Churches, as the culture of religion progressively advanced.* The precepts of the Nicene Council bear witness to

* Ep. 45 to Pope Cornelius.

nothing else: so that it ventured not to appoint any thing over him, seeing that nothing could possibly be conferred above his deserts: moreover, *it knew that every thing had been granted to him by the word of the Lord. Certain, therefore, is it that this Church is to the Churches diffused throughout the whole world, as it were, the head of its own members; from which whosoever cuts himself off, becomes expelled from the Christian religion, as he has begun not to be in the one compact structure* (compages*).

"For this purpose the Apostolic See holds the headship, that it may receive the lawful complaints of all."

At the beginning of the fifth century, the Pope speaks of what was ancient, recognised, and indisputable, based on the words of Holy Writ, and acknowledged by the first great General Council.

Let us take another passage, which points out the difference between Order and Jurisdiction in the members of the Apostolic college itself, and so in the Episcopal Body since; for, on the right understanding of this distinction, and of the consequences which flow from it, depends the understanding of the whole constitution of the Church as a visible society; and a misconception, an incoherence here, will confuse the whole vision,

* Coustant. Ep. Rom. Pontific. p. 1037.

and make a man, with the best intentions, unable to locate, or estimate, the strongest proofs brought before him.

S. Leo was deriving a part of his own universal Primacy to the Bishop of Thessalonica; that is, he was giving him, over and above his proper powers as Bishop of the individual see of Thessalonica, a power to represent the Pope, constituting him, in fact, a Patriarch over the ten Metropolitans of eastern Illyricum, including Greece; just as the Bishop of Alexandria was over Egypt, and the Bishop of Antioch over the East, that is, the province called Oriens. These are S. Leo's own words: "As my predecessors to your predecessors, so have I, following the example of those gone before, *committed to your affection my charge of government;* that you, imitating our gentleness, *might relieve the care, which we, in virtue of our headship, by divine institution, owe to all Churches*, and might in some degree discharge our personal visitation to provinces far distant from us. * * * * * For we have intrusted your affection to represent us on this condition, *that you are called to a part of our solicitude, but not to the fulness of our power.* * * * * * But if, in a matter which you believe fit to be considered and decided on with your brethren, their sentence differs from yours, let every thing be referred to

us on the authority of the Acts, that all doubtfulness may be removed, and we may decree what pleaseth God. * * * * * *For the compactness of our unity cannot remain firm, unless the bond of charity weald us into an inseparable whole;* because, 'as we have many members in one Body, and all members have not the same office, so we, being many, are one Body in Christ, and every one members one of another.' For it is the connection of the whole body which makes one soundness and one beauty; and this connection, as it requires unanimity in the whole body, so especially demands concord among Bishops. For, *though these have a like dignity, yet have they not an equal jurisdiction: since even among the most blessed Apostles, as there was a likeness of honour, so was there a certain distinction of power; and, the election of all being equal, preëminence over the rest was given to one. From which type the distinction also between Bishops has arisen,* and it was provided by a great ordering, that all should not claim to themselves all things, but that in every province there should be one, whose sentence should be considered the first among his brethren; and others again, seated in the greater cities, should undertake a larger care, *through whom the direction of the Universal Church should converge to the one See of Peter, and nothing any where disagree from its head.*"

S. Leo wrote this five years before the fourth General Council, which called him, as we have seen, "head over the members," and "father of the children," and "intrusted with the care of the Lord's vineyard." It is impossible for expressions more perfectly to tally than those of the Council of the Pope.

Let us consider what S. Leo tells us here.

First, he observes that while the Apostles were equal as to all power of Order, that is, as to the whole Sacerdotium, as to what is conferred by consecration, yet as to how they should exercise this power, in what places, and under what conditions, they were put under one, viz. S. Peter. And thus, even though they were sent into all the world by our Lord Himself, yet that mission was to be exercised under the preëminence of one. This means, in other words, that S. Peter's superiority consisted in his Jurisdiction over them, exactly as S. Jerome says: "Among the twelve one is chosen out, that by the appointment of a head the opportunity for schism might be taken away."

Secondly, "from this type the distinction between Bishops has arisen," namely, that while all were equal as to the Sacerdotium (as the same S. Jerome says, "wherever a Bishop is, be it at Rome, or Eugubium, or Constantinople, or Rhegium, or Alexandria, or Tanæ, he is of the same

rank, the same *priesthood*"), the jurisdiction of one differs in extent from that of another, as is self-evident in the cases of Rome, and Constantinople, and Alexandria: but likewise, to complete the type, there is a jurisdiction extending equally over all; there is one Peter among the Apostles, and there is Peter's successor too among the Bishops. This he goes on to say. For,—

Thirdly, there is the Bishop over the Diocese, the Metropolitan over the Province, the Primate, or Patriarch, over the Patriarchate,—but all this for one end,—"in which the regimen and sum," as Pope Boniface observes, "consists,"—namely, that "*through* them the direction of the Universal Church should converge to the one See of Peter, and nothing any where disagree from its head."

Now here, in the Apostolic, and in the Episcopal Body, in the original "Forma," and in the "Compages" which sprung from it, there are two powers, and no more, of divine institution:—the Primacy of Peter, and the co-Episcopate of the Apostles; the Primacy of Peter's successor, and the co-Episcopate of his brethren.

All that is between, Metropolitical, Primatial, or Patriarchal arrangements, are only of ecclesiastical growth, and therefore subject to diminution, or increase, or alteration; they do but "re-

lieve the care which, in virtue of his headship, by divine institution, the Universal Primate owes to all Churches." The power of this Primate suffers no diminution from their existence; they are not set up *against* him, but *under* him; not to *withdraw* "the care which, in virtue of his headship, he owes to all Churches," but to "*relieve* it."

Circumstances may make it expedient that under him metropolitical powers should be concentrated for whole provinces in single hands, which should accordingly confirm their subject Bishops, or even Archbishops.

Circumstances again may make it expedient that the Universal Primate should directly and immediately give institution to all Bishops.

But in the one case, equally as in the other, he is *supreme*. If the Patriarch is accused, he hears, judges, absolves, or condemns him. If his ordination is objected to, he confirms or annuls it; if his faith is doubted, he clears or he deprives him. If he is tyrannical, his subject Bishops appeal to the One Head, and are righted.

In the earliest times, when near three centuries of persecution were to try the rising Church, it was expedient, for various reasons, that powers belonging in their fulness to the universal Primate should be imparted, in a large degree, to others under him: yet, to mark plainly the *source*

of these powers, in both cases the mission proceeded from S. Peter. To Alexandria, the second city of the Roman empire, he sent his disciple Mark, with patriarchal powers; at Antioch, the third city, he had sat himself for seven years, and with it he left a portion of his preëminence. But the fulness and supremacy of that power which his Lord had given to him, for the unity of the mystical Body, he deposited at Rome. In the first four centuries no See possessed patriarchal powers but the three Sees of Peter. Why did no Apostle leave his Apostolic jurisdiction to any Church? S. Paul had founded Ephesus, and S. John had exercised his Apostolic power over it, and all the province of Asia, after Peter's death, but the Bishop of Ephesus held only an inferior rank. Constantinople rose to patriarchal rank only by the overbearing domination of the Greek Emperors, and Jerusalem out of respect to the Lord's city in the fifth century.

The intense jealousy of every thing Western, which is apparent in the Greek mind from the beginning, and after many minor schisms burst out into fatal violence in the time of Photius, is another reason why great powers were given to the Sees of Alexandria and Antioch in the first ages.

But if the Pope, in the "greater causes," called them to account, his supremacy is undoubted.

In later times it has been thought expedient that powers, which at their commencement were emanations from S. Peter's Primacy, as we have seen in the case of Thessalonica, should return to his See, and that the Head of the whole body should directly "confirm his brethren."

Many reasons, doubtless, there were for this,—for instance, would not the very strong nationality which characterises modern times have broken up the Church into fragments, had the chief Bishop of each nation possessed patriarchal powers, whereas the strong arm of the Roman empire had moulded into one many opposite races, though it could not overcome the inherent antagonism of the Greek to the Latin? Would not, again, the violent jealousy of the civil power have forced its own subjects in each nation to surrender the free exercise of their spiritual rights, but for that bond of divine institution by which our Lord fastened them to the See of S. Peter? Alas for the hapless Church which has broken that bond! Statesmen without a creed will ride over it rough-shod, and lawyers decide points of faith, having power to agonise the conscience, as "in case of appeal from the Admiral's Court."

Thus in the middle of the fifth century the universal supremacy of S. Peter's See, as to the government of the Church's visible society, was

publicly stated, both by Pope and by General Council, and lies at the basis of the whole structure of the Church's discipline in the preceding centuries. In its essence it was exactly the same, in its extent neither more nor less than it is now: for it was given by our Lord at the birth of the Church, and all other and inferior powers were sealed up in it.

But was this Supremacy equally indisputable in matters of faith? Here we might answer, that he who is the source of jurisdiction *must* likewise be the supreme judge of doctrine: for the one great and visible society lives by and on its faith, and he who maintains unity in its outward framework must likewise guard that belief, and preserve pure the soul which animates the body. Moreover, so often as outward communion is imperilled by a breach of faith, the question of faith is inextricably mixed up with the question of communion, and one decision determines both. The claim of spiritual jurisdiction will crush any power, save that which Christ has made to bear it. Or, again, we might say that, as a fact, we owe the true doctrine of the Incarnation, under God, to this same S. Leo. The Eastern Church, partly overborne by the civil power, whose chief minister was a friend of the heresiarch, and partly sick of a deep inward taint which it never had strength to throw off, had

gone into the heresy of Eutyches; legitimately assembled in a General Council, it had actually accepted his doctrine. S. Leo annulled the Council; S. Leo condemned the doctrine. He caused to assemble once more in a larger Council that East which through centuries was swayed backward and forward by the will of its princes, caused six hundred Bishops to receive his letter, word for word, in which the true faith was authoritatively defined, and so was the means of keeping them for four centuries, as it were in spite of themselves, in the unity of the Church.

But we will turn to another controversy—one of the most subtle which has ever distressed the Church—one which harassed S. Augustine for many a year. Whither, after all his labours, writings, and prayers, in the Pelagian controversy, did he turn for its final solution? To S. Peter's chair. Two African Councils had condemned Pelagius, and their decrees, drawn up by S. Augustine, were sent for approval to Pope Innocent I., together with another letter from S. Augustine himself and some friends, in which he says: "We do not pour back our *streamlet* for the purpose of increasing your great *fountain*, but in this, not however a slight temptation of the time (whence may He deliver us, to whom we cry, Lead us not into temptation!), we wish it to be decided by you *whether our stream, how-*

ever small, flows forth from that same head of rivers whence comes your own abundance; and by your answers to be consoled respecting our common participation of one grace." *

In reply, A.D. 416, S. Innocent praises the Council of Carthage, that "in inquiring concerning these matters, which it behoves to be treated with all care by Bishops, and especially by a true, just, and Catholic Council, observing the precedents of ancient tradition, and mindful of ecclesiastical discipline, you have confirmed the strength of our religion not less now in consulting us, than by sound reason before you pronounced sentence, inasmuch as you approved of reference being made to our judgment, knowing what is due to the Apostolic See, since all we who are placed in this position desire to follow the Apostle himself, *from whom the very Episcopate and all the authority of this title sprung.* Following whom we know as well how to condemn the evil as to approve the good. And this too, that, guarding, according to the duty of Bishops, the institutions of the Fathers, ye resolve that these regulations should not be trodden under foot, which they, *in pursuance of no human but a Divine sentence, have decreed; viz. that whatever was being carried on, although in the most distant and remote provinces, should not be terminated before it was*

* Epist. p. 177.

brought to the knowledge of this See; by the full authority of which the just sentence should be confirmed, and that thence all other Churches might derive what they should order, whom they should absolve, whom, as being bemired with ineffaceable pollution, the stream that is worthy only of pure bodies should avoid; so that from their purent source all waters should flow, and through the different regions of the whole world the pure streams of the fountain well forth uncorrupted."*

Here we have S. Innocent affirming, (1) that questions respecting the Faith had always been referred to the judgment of the Holy See: (2) that this tradition rested on Scripture, that is on the prerogatives granted by our Saviour to S. Peter: (3) that decisions emanating from the Holy See were not liable to any error, "that the pure streams of the fountain should well forth uncorrupted:" (4) that all the Churches of the world had ever been bound to conform to them, "that thence all other Churches might derive what they should order," &c.†

To the Council of Numidia S. Innocent says: "Therefore do ye diligently and becomingly consult the secrets of the Apostolical honour (that honour, I mean, on which, beside those things that are without, the care of all the Churches

* Coustant. Ep. Rom. Pontif. p. 868.
† Petit Didier, *in loc.*

attends), as to what judgment is to be passed on doubtful matters, following, in sooth, the prescription of the ancient rule, which you know, as well as I, has ever been preserved in the whole world. But this I pass by, for I am sure your prudence is aware of it: for how could you by your actions have confirmed this, save as knowing that throughout all provinces answers are ever emanating as from the Apostolic fountain to inquirers? Especially so often as a matter of faith is under discussion, I conceive that all my brethren and fellow-Bishops can only refer to Peter, that is, *the source of their own name and honour*, just as your affection hath now referred, for what may benefit all Churches in common throughout the whole world. For the inventors of evils must necessarily become more cautious, when they see that at the reference of a double synod they have been severed from Ecclesiastical Communion by our sentence. Therefore your charity will enjoy a double advantage; for you will have at once the satisfaction of having observed the canons, and the whole world will have the use of what you have gained: for who among Catholics will choose any longer to hold discourse with the adversaries of Christ?"

Here we may observe, besides what was said above, (1) that nothing concerning faith was held for decided, before it was carried to the See of S.

Peter, and had received the Pope's sentence: (2) that before his sentence the determination of particular Councils only held good provisionally,—"what judgment is to be passed on doubtful matters:" (3) that such determination only had the force of a consultation or relation as to a difficulty, made to the Pope before his own sentence,—"at the relation," he says, "of a double synod:" (4) that the Pope's sentence, by which he confirmed Councils, was a final judgment, excluding the condemned from the Church's Communion, "when they see that they have been severed from Ecclesiastical Communion by our sentence:" (5) that Bishops, as well as the faithful in general, always submitted themselves to such a decree. "Who among Catholics will choose any longer to hold discourse with the adversaries of Christ?"*

S. Innocent the Third could have said no more about the powers of his See; what does S. Augustine observe upon it?

"He answered to all as was right, and as it became the prelate of the Apostolical See."† And as to the effect of his answer, there are famous words of S. Augustine, which have passed into a proverb: "Already two Councils on this matter have been sent to the Apostolic See; replies from whence have also been received.

* Petit Didier, *in loc.* † Epist. 186.

The cause is terminated; would that the error may presently terminate likewise!"*

We need no more to tell us what S. Augustine meant by that "Headship, which," he says, "had ever flourished in the Apostolic See."† It involves, we see, the necessity, that all other Churches should agree in faith with it, as having deposited in itself the root of the Apostolic confession, concerning the two natures of our Lord, to which the promise was given by our Lord, that the Church should be built upon it. S. Augustine and S. Innocent express the one true faith under S. Cyprian's image of the fountain, who in the same most remarkable passage where he sets forth the "one Episcopate, of which each holds a part without division of the whole," says, "as from one fountain numberless rivers flow, widely as their number may be diffused in broad abundance, yet unity is preserved in the source; —one still is the head, and the origin one."

The power, therefore, which was to maintain unity of faith and of communion, does so, and can only do so, by having, both in matters concerning faith and in those concerning communion, a coactive jurisdiction, universal, immediate, and supreme. And in the fifth century this power is seen in undisputed operation, referring back to our Lord's institution as its source, and to all

* Tom. v. p. 645. † Epist. 43.

preceding ages of the Church for its exercise, and no one charges it with usurpation. And here I must go forward a thousand years, to the date of the Council of Constance, for the purpose of quoting one who was the soul of that Council, and the originator of what are called Gallican opinions, who yet, as will be seen, expresses exactly the same doctrine as S. Innocent and S. Leo above, respecting the relation between the Papacy and the Episcopate.

"The Papal dignity was instituted by Christ, supernaturally and immediately, as holding a monarchical and royal primacy in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, according to which unique and supreme dignity the Church militant is called one under Christ: which dignity whosoever presumes to impugn or diminish, or reduce to the level of any particular dignity, if he does this obstinately, is a heretic, a schismatic, impious and sacrilegious. For he falls into a heresy so often expressly condemned from the very beginning of the Church to this day, as well by Christ's institution of the headship of Peter over the other Apostles, as by the tradition of the whole Church, in its sacred declarations and General Councils." And again: "The Episcopal rank in the Church as to its primary conferring was given immediately by Christ to the Apostles first, as the papal rank to Peter. The Episcopal rank had in the Apostles and their

successors the *use* or *exercise* of its own power, subject to Peter, as Pope, and his successors, *as he had, and they have, the fontal plenitude of Episcopal authority*. Wherefore, as concerns such things, those of minor rank, that is, having cure of souls, are subject to Bishops, by whom the use of their power is at times restricted, or stopped, and so it is not to be doubted can be done by the Pope, in respect to superior dignitaries, for certain and reasonable causes."

And again he says: "Of which power (of jurisdiction) the plenitude resides in the supreme Pontiff, and is in him entire potentially; but is derived to others in degrees, according to the legitimate determination of that fontal and prime power." *

The Chancellor Gerson is here only expressing what had been the unbroken belief down to his own times, until the great Western schism originated a long train of disasters which have not yet ceased to agitate Christendom.

But before I pass from this subject, let me say a word on what is meant by spiritual jurisdiction. It is a term of law as well as of theology, and it is desirable to clear up any ambiguity which may attend its use, if unexplained.

Every Churchman, then, believes that a Priest,

* Gerson de Statibus Ecclesiasticis, consid. 1, and De Statu Prælatorum, consid. 2 and 3, and De Potest. Ligandi et Solvendi. The last quoted by Ballerini.

at his ordination, receives certain spiritual powers; and, again, a Bishop, at his consecration, certain others: these are called powers of *order;* they are the same in all Priests and in all Bishops respectively. As regards these, S. Peter had no superiority over his brethren in the Apostolate, and the Pope has none over his brethren in the Episcopate. As regards these, one Bishop does not excel another Bishop, nor one Priest another Priest. In the whole of the present subject-matter these powers of *order* do not come into question.

But when a Priest has been ordained, where and how, in what place, and under what conditions and restrictions, is he to *exercise* the powers so given him? All these points the Bishop determines by assigning to him a particular flock under himself; that is, he gives him *mission;* but he does not therefore cease to be the *immediate* pastor himself of that flock, over whom he sets another as subordinate pastor.

And when a Bishop has been consecrated, who determines where and how, in what place, and under what conditions he is to *exercise* the powers which he has received? That is, who gives the Bishop *mission?* who appoints such and such a person to fill such and such a particular diocese?

This power to give *mission* is purely spiritual, eminently and in the highest degree a gift of our Lord; and upon it depend *for their exercise* all

powers whatever which our Lord has committed to His Church for the salvation of souls, and the building of His mystical body.

Will any honest mind, will any one who loves his Saviour, any one who has the spirit of a freeman in his soul, endure that this power of *mission* should be seized upon and appropriated by the civil Government of a State?

But what is the Catholic answer to the question, "Who gives the Bishop mission?" I will give it in the words of an author to whom I am under great obligations.

"Episcopal jurisdiction cannot be given, save by the Pope alone or by the whole Episcopal body united with the Pope. Let us go to the origin of things. The power to govern populations in order to their eternal salvation, to instruct them, to oblige them to obedience, to bind them by spiritual penalties, in a word, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, was certainly given by Jesus Christ, nor in its origin could it be given by any other than by Him. We are speaking of men united in one society for the spiritual end of eternal salvation, which society is called the Church; we are speaking of flocks purchased by the supreme and eternal Shepherd at the priceless cost of His own blood. We are speaking of a kingdom which is a spiritual kingdom of His own acquiring, recovered from the power of darkness by the victory of the cross and

the glorious triumph over Hell. Lastly, we are speaking of populations which the Divine Father has bestowed on His Son made man, giving to Him all power over them. Now, to whom did Jesus Christ condescend to impart this power? To S. Peter alone before any other; next to all the Apostles, comprising therein S. Peter marked out to be, and made, their head. We read not in the word of God, written or handed down, and it is certain that Jesus Christ gave not of Himself immediately to any other this power. The sacred text notes expressly, that when Jesus Christ conferred the power of governing His Church, there were only present the eleven Apostles, and He directed His words only to them. The Evangelist S. Matthew notices the remarkable circumstance that Jesus Christ commanded the eleven Apostles to go into Galilee to a place apart, where He appeared, and gave them their mission to instruct and baptise all nations. Accordingly, the power to govern the Church, which in due propagation of the Episcopate was communicated from hand to hand to others, and has been perpetuated unto us, was by Jesus Christ, before He ascended into Heaven, given to the eleven Apostles only, and could not be conferred on others, save by one of the Apostles, who alone had it immediately from Jesus Christ. Bishops, *considered as individuals*, do not succeed to the Apostles in the

fulness and *universality* of the Episcopate. There is only the Roman Pontiff, successor of S. Peter, and the whole Episcopal body with the Roman Pontiff at its head succeeding to the Apostolic College, which possess the Episcopate in all its *fulness*, *universality*, and *sovereignty*, as it was instituted by Jesus Christ. Accordingly, there is only the Roman Pontiff, and the whole Episcopal body, which has for subjects all Christians, and which extends its jurisdiction over the whole Church. Hence by necessary consequence it follows, that the Roman Pontiff alone, or the whole Episcopal body, can assign subjects to be governed, and confer Episcopal jurisdiction. Every one else who attempts to do this over subjects not his own, does an act essentially, and of its own intrinsic nature, null and void, since *no one gives what he has not got.*"*

I will add another passage which seems calculated specially to meet Anglican misconceptions of Church government: "Jesus Christ did not divide His flock into so many portions, nor the world into so many dioceses, assigning one to John, one to Andrew, one to Matthew, &c. *He conferred the Episcopate on S. Peter in all its fulness and sovereignty, and thus He conferred it too on all the Apostolic College, that is, presided over by S. Peter; each Apostle had a full and univer-*

* Bolgeni, L'Episcopato, c. vii. s. 81.

sal power in the whole Church, but with subordination to S. Peter. The Apostles were the first to make a division of nations and dioceses, according as the seed of God's Word bore fruit, and the Christian religion acquired followers through all the earth. Of the Bishops created by the Apostles, some were not fixed to any people or determinate place, but were sent hither and thither according as the need of Christians required. These Bishops acted by an authority delegated from the Apostles, therefore they received it immediately from the Apostles, who had received it from Jesus Christ. Others again were settled in a determinate see, and had assigned a determinate territory to govern; these had a fixed and ordinary jurisdiction, but it is plain that they received it immediately from the Apostles, who constituted them Bishops rather in one place than in another, rather over one people than over another. The disciples of the Apostles pursued the same method in the further propagation of the Episcopate; and by the multiplication of Bishops dioceses became more and more restricted, and the jurisdiction of each Bishop was reduced to more confined limits. It is, then, plain that this jurisdiction was conferred immediately by those who instituted the Bishops, and assigned them to this or that determinate people; and as these institutors acted according to the instructions and the discipline re-

ceived from the Apostles, so in origin the jurisdiction descended from the Apostles, and from S. Peter, who had received it immediately from Jesus Christ. Thus the streams, however multiplied in their course, as S. Cyprian says, parting themselves to irrigate this or that plot, and springing one from the other, if you mount upwards, still are found all parted from one fountain, which gave to them the first waters and the first impulse to their movement." *

Let us only add to this, that he who received the charge, "Feed My sheep," did not cease to be their proper pastor, because he divided them among himself and his brethren, any more than the Bishop, when he commits a portion of his flock to a Priest under him, ceases to be his proper pastor; and as that commission was to last for ever, forasmuch as it included all others in itself, and to have a perpetual succession, because the Church founded on him who held it was never to fail, so his successor ceased not to have a full and proper power "to feed, to rule, and to govern the Universal Church." †

He therefore it is, as the head of the whole Church, and representing it, who gave mission in ancient times to the Sees of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, and to all others descending from

* Bolgeni, L'Episcopato, s. 94.

† Definition of the Council of Florence.

them; and he in modern times who gives mission to all Bishops directly from his own person; in both cases the fountain-head dwelt in himself undiminished; and this is that universal, immediate, and supreme jurisdiction, which is the proper nature of the Primacy.

Section V.

THE CHURCH'S WITNESS TO THE PRIMACY.

We have now then considered the Primacy of S. Peter's See as a power in present possession, acknowledged by many various nations, continued on by a most wonderful providence of God, wholly without a parallel, for eighteen hundred years, unchanged while every thing else around has changed again and again, that is, empires, races, manners, civilisation, literature, the centre of political power, the centre of moral gravity; a power still existing, which has seen all the monarchies of Europe arise as children around it, and all the nations of Europe come to its feet for instruction; and which therefore presents itself with every claim to consideration which a power can have; with a right, moreover, to interpret in its own favour, if indeed that be needful, expressions in ancient authors concerning it, which refer to its headship, without defining it.

We have seen, moreover, that this power is based, not on any grant of the Church of God, not on any concessions of its Bishops from age to

age, but on the express words of the Founder of that Church, words so remarkable that they prove themselves to be His who spake as never man spake, in that while they convey the supreme power which is to rule and guide that Church for ever, to be seated at its heart, and to move its hands, they enfold in themselves the living germ from which all its organisation has sprung. In them a root is planted by the Maker of all things, which contains potentially the tree with all its wide-spreading branches, down to the minutest leaf of its vast and varied foliage.

Thirdly, the end and object for which this central power is created has been set forth; that unity of faith and of communion, that building up of the Mystical Body to the measure of the stature of the perfect man, which is a primary purpose of our Lord's Incarnation, and points to a glory only to be revealed at the "restitution of all things."

Fourthly, the nature of this power has been explained as consisting in an universal, immediate, and supreme jurisdiction over the whole Church; such as the very words of institution themselves convey, and such as is imperatively demanded to fulfil the purpose for which the Lord created the power; nay, for which He Himself became incarnate.

One thing only remains, to show that the

Church has borne witness, throughout her existence, to a power which she did not create, the secret of her own union, vigour, and strength. This has only been done in a few instances at present, though these are among the most decisive which antiquity supplies. But I proceed to give abundant proof to every candid mind of what I have heretofore laid down.

The Primitive Church, during nearly three centuries, in which it was exposed to continual persecution, was never assembled in a General Council. During that time it was governed by its one Episcopate, cast into the shape which it had received from the moulding hand of S. Peter himself, at the head of the Apostolic College. That Apostle, in his own lifetime, established three primatial Sees, of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch,—the mother Churches of three great patriarchates, which, as Church after Church was propagated from them, and received its Bishop, yet retained over them a parent's right of correction and inspection. Of these, the two latter, the Sees of Alexandria and Antioch, were subordinate to the See of Rome, to whose Bishop their Bishops were accountable for the purity of their faith, and the due government of their Church. The records of these three first centuries have in a large degree perished; but we see standing out of them certain facts, which cannot be accounted

for but by the Roman Primacy, viz., that the Bishop of Rome, and he alone, claims a control over the Churches of the whole world, threatening to sever from his communion (and sometimes carrying that threat into execution) such as do not maintain the purity of that faith which he is charged to watch over, and the rules of that communion which had come down from the Apostles. The well-known instances of S. Clement writing to the Church of Corinth to heal its divisions, in the very lifetime of S. John, of S. Victor censuring the Asiatic, and S. Stephen the African Churches, and of S. Dionysius receiving an apology for his faith from his namesake, the Bishop of Alexandria, are sufficient proofs of this. The force of the fact lies in this, that the Bishop of Rome, and he alone, claims, as need may arise, a control over all; but no one claims a control over him.

But as soon as the ages of persecution are past, as soon as the Church Catholic is allowed to develop free action as one corporate whole, and to exert the powers which God had planted within her, S. Peter is found on the throne of the Roman Pontiffs, superintending, maintaining, consolidating her outward framework and her inward faith.

In the year 325, at the great Nicene Council, the preëminent authority of the Bishops of Rome,

Alexandria, and Antioch, is acknowledged, the former of these being referred to as a type to sanction a claim of the latter over his subject Bishops, and it is stated that "the Roman Church always had the primacy." The Bishop of Corduba, in Spain, apparently at once Papal Legate and Imperial Commissioner, and Vitus and Vincentius, Legates of S. Sylvester, presided over the Council; and "it was determined that all these things should be sent to Sylvester, Bishop of the city of Rome,"* for his confirmation, which only could make the Council ecumenical, as may be seen even from the fact that of three hundred and eighteen Bishops twenty-two alone belonged to Europe.

In the year 347, a great Council was held at Sardica, intended to be ecumenical. It was presided over by the same Bishop of Corduba, and in its Synodical letter to Pope Julius, tells him, "for this will seem the best, and by far the most fitting, if the Lord's Bishops make reference from all the provinces *to the head, that is, the See of the Apostle Peter.*"†

Thus these two great and most ancient Councils do not in the least *define* the nature of that Primacy which they refer to as an existing fact

* Codex Canonum Sedis Apostolicæ, S. Leo, tom. iii. p. 46, edit. Ballerini.

† Mansi, iii. 40.

from the beginning in the Church. So true is that which was stated by a Roman Council of seventy Bishops, under Pope Gelasius, in the year 494, which, after naming the canon of Scripture, the present Roman canon, says, "Next to all these Scriptures of the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles, on which the Catholic Church by the grace of God is founded, this too we think should be remarked, that though all the Catholic Churches throughout the world be but one bridal-chamber of Christ, yet the holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church has been preferred to the rest by no decrees of a Council, but has obtained the Primacy by the voice in the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Himself, saying: 'Thou art Peter,' &c.

"To whom was given also the society of the most blessed Apostle Paul, the vessel of election, who on one and the same day suffering a glorious death with Peter in the city of Rome, under Cæsar Nero, was crowned; and they alike consecrated to Christ the Lord the above-named holy Roman Church, and as such set it above all the cities in the whole world by their presence and venerable triumph.

"First, therefore, is the Roman Church, the See of Peter the Apostle, 'not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing.'

"But second is the See consecrated at Alex-

Papal Legates. The following are some of their proceedings in the Council:

"Arcadius, Bishop and Legate of the Roman Church, said: 'Let your Blessedness order to be read to you the letters of holy Pope Celestine, Bishop of the Apostolic See, and to be named with all veneration, which have been brought by us, by which your Blessedness will be able to learn *what care he bears for all the Churches.*'" *

In these letters is said: "We have directed, according to our solicitude, our holy brethren and fellow-Priests, men of one mind with us and well approved, Arcadius and Projectus, Bishops, and Philip our Presbyter, who shall be present at your acts, *and shall carry into effect what we have before determined; assent to whom we doubt not will be accorded by your Holiness.*" †

This means that the Pope had already condemned Nestorius, and deposed him, unless he retracted; which throws light on the following sentences of the Council on him:

"*Compelled* by the sacred canons *and the letter of our most holy father and fellow-minister, Celestine*, Bishop of the Roman Church, we have with tears come *of necessity* to this painful sentence against him." ‡

* Mansi, iv. 1282. † Coustant. Ep. Rom. Pont. 1162.
‡ Mansi, iv. 1211.

Farther on—"Philip, Presbyter and Legate of the Apostolic See, said: 'We return thanks to the holy and venerable Council, that the letters of our holy Pope having been read to you, you have joined yourselves *as holy members to a holy head.* For your Blessedness is not ignorant *that the blessed Apostle Peter is head of the whole faith, and of the Apostles likewise.*'" *

And again, after hearing the acts against Nestorius read, the same says: "It is doubtful to no one, *but rather known to all ages, that holy and most blessed Peter, prince and head of the Apostles, pillar of the faith, and foundation of the Catholic Church, received from our Lord Jesus Christ, Saviour and Redeemer of the human race, the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, and that the power of loosing and binding sins was given to him; who to this very time and for ever lives, and exercises judgment in his successors.* And so our most blessed Pope Celestine the Bishop, his successor in due order, and holding his place, has sent to this holy Council us to represent him." †

S. Cyril, having heard this declaration of the Legate, moved that he and the other Legates, "since they had *fulfilled what was ordered them*" by Pope Celestine, should set their hands to the deposition of Nestorius, "and the holy Council

* Mansi, iv. 1290. † Ibid. iv. 1290.

said: Inasmuch as Arcadius and Projectus, Legates, and Philip, Presbyter and Legate of the Apostolic See, *have said what is fitting*, it follows that they should also subscribe and confirm the acts."

S. Cyril, most zealous of all men for the rights of the Eastern Church, saw nothing strange in what is here said of the Pope.

In the year 451 the great Council of Chalcedon was called to censure the heresy of Eutyches. S. Leo had, in a letter to Flavian, Archbishop of Constantinople, laid down the true faith; and he speaks in the following letter to the Council of the obedience which he expected to be rendered to his decision.

"In these brethren, Paschasinus and Lucentius, Bishops, Boniface and Basil, Presbyters, who have been sent from the Apostolic See, let your Brotherhood deem me to preside over the Council, my presence not being disjoined from you, for I am there in my representatives, and long since have not been wanting in setting forth the Catholic Faith: for you cannot be ignorant what from ancient tradition we hold, and so cannot doubt what we desire. Wherefore, most dear brethren, *rejecting altogether the boldness of disputing against the faith inspired from above, let the vain unbelief of those who are in error be quiet, nor venture to*

defend what may not be believed; inasmuch as, according to the authorities of the Gospel, the words of the Prophets, and the Apostolic doctrine, it has been most fully and clearly declared in the letter we have sent to the Bishop Flavian of happy memory, what is the pious and sincere confession concerning the mystery of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ." *

Dioscorus, Archbishop of Alexandria, and president of the Council at Ephesus two years before, had taken his place among the Bishops; but at the very opening of the Council, Paschasinus, legate of the Apostolic See, said: "We have in our hands the commands of the most blessed and Apostolic man, Pope of the city of Rome, *which is the head of all Churches, in which his Apostleship has thought good to order that Dioscorus should not sit in the Council*, but be introduced to make his defence." And Lucentius, another legate, gives the reason: "He must give an account of the judgment he passed; inasmuch as, not having the right to judge, he presumed, and *dared to hold a Council without the authority of the Apostolic See, which never was lawful, never has been done.*"*

And Dioscorus takes his seat as a criminal.

The condemnation of Dioscorus is afterwards passed in the following terms by the Pope's le-

* S. Leo, Ep. 93. † Mansi, vi. 579, 582.

gates: "Paschasinus,—and Lucentius,—and Boniface,—pronounced. *Leo*, most holy and blessed Archbishop of great and elder Rome, *by us, and by this holy Council, together with the most blessed Apostle Peter, who is the Rock and ground of the Catholic Church, and the foundation of the right faith*, hath stripped him as well of the rank of Bishop, as also hath severed him from all sacerdotal ministry." *

All assent to this.

Moreover, the Council subscribes to every particle of S. Leo's letter.

I have already given above the substance of their letter to him. No stronger terms can be found to express the Supremacy, than those there voluntarily tendered to him.

Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople, humbly assures him, as the Council had done, "that all the force of the acts and their confirmation had been reserved to the authority of your Blessedness." * Notwithstanding, S. Leo confirms their decrees only as to matters of faith, and refuses the canon about the See of Constantinople.

Thus the full Papal Supremacy is set forth in these two Councils, held at the most flourishing period of the ancient Church; and not only so, but it is recognised as existing from the beginning, and founded on the prerogatives given by

* Mansi, vi. 1047. † S. Leo, Ep. 132.

our Lord to Peter, whose person is viewed as continued on in his successors; and the grant of infallibility, deposited in the Church, is not obscurely declared to be seated in the person of her chief.

The two opposed heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches had distracted the East for more than two centuries after the Council of Chalcedon. At length, in the year 680, the sixth General Council meets at Constantinople, to censure the Monothelite error, the last refinement of Grecian subtlety upon the grosser form of Eutyches. The Roman empire of the West had long fallen; the political estrangement between the two parts of Christendom much increased. But the acknowledgment of the Pope's headship is as definite as ever.

Pope Agatho writes thus to the Emperor:

"Peter, who, by a triple commendation received the spiritual sheep of the Church from the Redeemer of all Himself, to be fed by him; under whose safeguard this his Apostolical Church hath never turned aside from the path of truth to any error whatsoever; whose authority, as of the Prince of all the Apostles, the whole Catholic Church at all times, and the universal Councils faithfully embracing, have in all respects followed."*

* Mansi, xi. 239.

His letter is read in the Council, and approved; and it answers him thus:

"Greatest diseases require stronger remedies, as you know, O most Blessed; and therefore Christ, our true God, the Virtue truly Creator and Governor of all things, hath given us a wise physician, your Holiness, honoured of God; who firmly repellest the contagious plague of heresy by the antidotes of orthodoxy, and impartest the strength of health to the members of the Church. And therefore we willingly leave what should be done to you, as Prelate of the first See of the Universal Church, *standing on the firm rock of faith*, having read through the letter of a true confession sent by your Paternal Blessedness to our most religious Emperor; *which we recognise as divinely written from the supreme head of the Apostles.*"*

A hundred years later, in 789, Pope Hadrian writes to Tarasius, the newly-elected Patriarch of Constantinople, a letter, which is read in the seventh General Council, and expressly approved and accepted both by the Archbishop and the Council. He begins by speaking of "the pastoral care with which it befits us to feed the people of God;" goes on to say, that only the correctness of faith in Tarasius allowed him to overlook the irregularity of his promotion from a layman; and

* Mansi, xi. 683.

then, after quoting "Thou art Peter," adds, "whose See is conspicuous, as holding primacy over the whole world, and is the head of all the Churches of God. Whence the same blessed Apostle Peter, by the charge of the Lord feeding the Church, hath left nothing out of his range, but always hath held and holds the headship. To which, if your Holiness desires to adhere, and with a pure and uncorrupt mind, in the sincerity of your heart, studies to keep the sacred and orthodox mould of doctrine delivered by our Apostolic See,"* &c.

This seventh Council, rejecting a former great Council of some hundred Bishops, held thirty years before at Constantinople, from being general, says:

"How was it great and universal? for it had not the countenance of the Roman Pope of that time, nor of the Bishops who are about him, nor by his legates, nor by an encyclical letter, *as the law of Councils requires.*" †

But far more remarkable yet are the proceedings of the eighth Council, in 869, as if Providence had willed that before the Greek schism was accomplished, the strongest possible testimony against itself, and for that authority which it would be led in self-defence to deny, should be borne by the Patriarchs and Bishops of the East.

* Mansi, xii. 1077–1084. † Ibid. xiii. 207.

At the beginning of the Council, the Papal Legates require that every Bishop should sign and deliver to them for transmission to the Pope a profession of faith, similar in its chief parts to that which had been sent more than three hundred years before from Pope Hormisdas to the Patriarch of Constantinople, after the schism of Acacius, on signing which the Patriarch and all the Bishops of the East were readmitted to communion.

The Legates are obeyed. The profession runs thus:

"Because the sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ cannot be passed by, who says: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church,' these words are proved by the real effect which has followed; because in the Apostolic See the Catholic religion has ever been kept immaculate, and holy doctrine celebrated there. Wherefore, by no means desiring to be separated from its faith and doctrine, and following in all things the constitutions of the Fathers, and chiefly of the holy Prelates of the Apostolic See, we anathematise all heresies. . . . Condemning, particularly, Photius and Gregory of Syracuse, *parricides*, that is, *who have not feared to put out their tongue against their Spiritual Father.* Since, following in all things the Apostolic See, and observing in all things its constitutions, we

hope that we may be worthy to be in one communion, which the Apostolic See sets forth, *in which is the complete and true solidity of the Christian religion.* But this my profession I (such a Bishop) have written with my own hand, and delivered to thee, most holy Hadrian, Supreme Pontiff and Universal Pope." *

The following letter of S. Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Pope Nicholas, was also read and approved in the Council. It begins:

"Of the wounds and sores of human members art has produced many physicians; of whom one has treated this disease, and another that, using in their experience amputation or cure. But of these, which are in the members of our Saviour Christ and God, the Head of us all, and of His spouse the Catholic and Apostolic Church, the Supreme Chief and most powerful Word, Orderer, and Healer, and Master, the God of all, hath produced one singular, preëminent, and most Catholic Physician, your fraternal Holiness and paternal Goodness. Wherefore He said to Peter, the great and supreme Apostle: 'Thou art Peter,' &c. And again: 'I will give to thee the keys,' &c. For such blessed words He did not, surely, according to a sort of lot, circumscribe and define to the prince of the Apostles alone, but transmitted by him to all who, after him, ac-

* Mansi, xvi. 27.

cording to him, were to be made supreme pastors, and most divine and sacred Pontiffs of olden Rome. And therefore, from of old and the ancient times, when heresies and contradictions have arisen, many of those who preceded there your Holiness and supreme Paternity, have many times been made the pluckers-up and destroyers of evil tares, and of sick members, plague-struck and incurable: being, that is, successors of the prince of the Apostles, and imitating his zeal in the faith, according to Christ: and now in our times your Holiness hath worthily exercised the power given to you by Christ." *

This letter also of Pope Nicholas to the Emperor Michael was read and approved in the Council.

"That headship of divine power, which the Maker of all things has bestowed on His elect Apostles, He hath, by establishing its solidity on the unshaken faith of Peter, prince of the Apostles, made his see preëminent, yea, the first. For, by the word of the Lord it was said to him, 'Thou art Peter,' &c. Moreover, Peter so entirely ceases not to maintain for his own people the structure of the Universal Church unshaken and rooted in the strength of faith, from the firmness of the Rock, which is Christ, that he hastens to reform by the rule of right faith the

* Mansi, xvi. 47.

madness of the wandering. For, according to the faithful maintenance of the Apostolical tradition, as yourselves know, the holy Fathers have often met, by whom it has both been resolved and observed, that without the consent of the Roman See and the Roman Pontiff no emergent deliberation should be terminated."*

To Photius himself Pope Nicholas says, as read in the Council, after setting forth the Primacy in like terms:

"Because the whole number of believers seeks doctrine, and asks for the integrity of the faith, and those who are worthy solicit the deliverance from crimes from this holy Roman Church, which is the head of all Churches, it behoves us, to whom it is intrusted, to be anxious, and the more fervently to be set on watch over the Lord's flock," &c.†

And this letter of the same Pope to the Archbishops, Metropolitans, and Bishops, subject to the See of Constantinople, is also read in the Council.

"Wherefore, because, as your wisdom knows, we are bound by the care of all Christ's sheep, holding through the abundance of heavenly grace his place, to whom is especially said by God, 'Feed My sheep;' and, again, 'And thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren;' we

* Mansi, xvi. 59. † Ibid. xvi. 69.

could not so dissimulate or neglect, but that we should visit our sheep dispersed and scattered, and confirm in the faith and good conduct our brethren and neighbours." *

Lastly, in its second Canon, the Council itself enacts :

"Obey those set over you, and be subject to them, for they watch for your souls, as those that shall give account : thus Paul, the great Apostle, commands. *Therefore*, holding most blessed Pope Nicholas for the organ of the Holy Spirit, as too, most holy Pope Hadrian, his successor, we decree and approve that all things, which by them at different times have been set forth and promulged synodically, as well for the defence of the Church of Constantinople as for the expulsion of Photius, be kept and maintained." †

And in the twenty-first Canon it forbids even a General Council "boldly to give sentence against the supreme Pontiffs of elder Rome." ‡

And here, indeed, one might stop ; for supremacy as to government, and infallibility as to faith, have been, in these extracts of the ancient Councils, again and again set forth as belonging to the See of Rome. What more can be asked ?

S. Ambrose, in the year 390, at the head of his Council of Bishops, thus thanked Pope Siricius

* Mansi. xvi. 101. † Ibid. xvi. 160.
‡ Ibid. xvi. 174.

for condemning the heretic Jovinian, and transmitting his condemnation to all Churches: "We recognise in the letter of your Holiness the watchfulness of the good shepherd, who carefully guards the door committed to you, and with pious solicitude defends Christ's fold, worthy whom the Lord's sheep may hear and follow.—And so Jovinian, Auxentius, &c., whom your Holiness has condemned, know to be condemned by us likewise, according to your judgment." *

The Decretal Letters of the Popes of the first three centuries have perished; but with Siricius, in the year 384, a complete series of them commences. They are the public acts of the Church's Chief Bishop, in his ordinary government, written to Bishops all over the world, and accepted as laws by them to whom they were written. A learned writer, who has compiled the most ancient, says of them: "Out of so many Pontiffs singular for their learning and holiness, whom I will not say to charge, but even to suspect, of arrogance or pride, were rash in the highest degree, not one will be found who does not believe that this prerogative has been conferred on himself or his Church, to be the head of the whole Church. On the other hand, among so many great Churches of the Christian world, founded by the Apostles or their successors, not one will be

* Mansi iii. 664.

found whose Prelate was so ambitious as to venture to call himself head of the whole Church." *

Let us see how this appears in all the demeanour and language of these ancient Popes: how exactly the power which is claimed and exercised now was claimed and exercised at the end of the fourth century, and from that time forward, not as a new thing, but as existing from the first, by our Lord's institution, and as in full and undisputed operation.

Siricius, A.D. 385, to the Bishop of Tarragona, in Spain, says: "We bear the burdens of all who labour, or rather, the blessed Apostle Peter bears these in us, who in all things, as we trust, protects and defends us, the heirs of his administration." And, "you have made reference to the Roman Church, that is, *the head of your body*." †

His successor, Anastasius, to John, Bishop of Jerusalem, A.D. 400, condemning the opinions of Origen:

"Certainly I shall not be wanting in care to guard the faith of the Gospel *in respect to my populations*, and so far as I am able to hold intercourse, by letters, *with the parts of my body* over the different countries of the earth." ‡

His successor, Innocent, two letters from whom,

* Coustant. Pref. p. iii. † Ibid. pp. 624, 637.
‡ Ibid. p. 728.

so highly praised by S. Augustine, I have given above, speaks, A.D. 410, to the Bishop of Nocera, "as referring to us, *that is, the head and apex of the Episcopate.*" *

Pope Celestine, in 430, writes to the Clergy and people of Constantinople, harassed by the heresy of Nestorius:

"When I am about to speak to those who make up the Church, let the Apostle's words furnish me with a beginning: 'beside all those things which are without my daily pressure of toil, the care of all the Churches.' So we too, though at a great distance, when *we learnt that our members were being rent* by perverse doctrines, *in our paternal solicitude burning us for you*, were kindled at the fire which was scorching others: although among the Churches of God, which every where make up one bridal-chamber of Christ, nothing be distant, nothing can be accounted as foreign. *Since, therefore, you are our bowels*," &c. †

His successor Xystus, announcing his election to S. Cyril, says: "God hath deigned to call us to the supreme height of the Priesthood." ‡

Pope Zosimus, successor of S. Innocent, and two years after the letters quoted above from him, writes thus in 418, to Aurelius, Primate of Africa, and the Council of Carthage:

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"Although the tradition of the Fathers has assigned so great an authority to the Apostolic See, that no one may venture to call in question its judgment, and has maintained this always by its canons and rules, and though ecclesiastical discipline, as shown in the current of its laws, pays the reverence which it owes to the name of Peter, *from whom likewise itself descends:* for canonical antiquity, by the judgment of all, hath willed the power of this Apostle to be so great, from the very promise of Christ our God, that he can loose what is bound, and bind what is loosed; and an equal power is given to those who enjoy, with his consent, the inheritance of his See; for he has a care as well for all Churches, as especially for this, where he sat: nor does he permit any blast to shake a privilege or a sentence to which he has given the form and immovable foundation of his own name, and which, without danger to themselves, none may rashly attack: Peter then, being a head of such authority, and the zeal of all our ancestors having further confirmed this, so that the Roman Church is established by all human as well as divine laws and discipline—whose place you are not ignorant that we rule, and hold the power of his name—rather, most dear brethren, you know it, and as Bishops are bound to know it; such then, I say, being our authority, *that no one can question our sentence,*

we have done nothing which we have not of our own accord referred in our letters to your knowledge."*

But the civil power of that day agreed with the Pope in its estimate of his rights. The following is the edict of the Emperor Valentinian, given when S. Leo met with opposition from Hilary of Arles, in 445.

"Since therefore the merit of S. Peter, who is the chief of the Episcopal coronet, and the dignity of the Roman city, moreover the authority of a sacred Synod, have confirmed the Primacy of the Apostolic See, that presumption may not endeavour to attempt any thing unlawful contrary to the authority of that See; for then at length the peace of the Churches will every where be preserved, if the whole (*universitas*) acknowledge its ruler. These rules having been kept inviolably hitherto, &c. We decree, by this perpetual command, that no Gallican Bishops, nor those of the other provinces, may attempt to do any thing contrary to ancient custom without the authority of the venerable man, the Pope of the Eternal City; *but let them all deem that a law, whatsoever the authority of the Apostolic See hath sanctioned or may sanction.*"†

In the year 499, Pope Symmachus was unjustly accused on a charge of immorality. The Bishops

* Coustant. p. 974. † Baronius. Ann. 445.

of Italy, whom king Theodoric wished to try him, told the king, "that the person who was attacked ought himself to have called the Council, knowing that to his See *in the first place the rank or chiefship of the Apostle Peter, and then the authority of venerable Councils following out the Lord's command, had committed a power without its like* in the Churches: nor would a precedent be easily found to show, that in a similar matter the Prelate of the aforementioned See had been subject to the judgment of his inferiors."* Even when the Pope sanctioned the Council, they refused to try him, pronouncing him, "so far as regards men discharged and free, because the whole matter has been left to the divine judgment."

Yet jealous as they had been of the Pope's rights, the Bishops of Gaul were in alarm at the very thought of his being tried. Their feelings were expressed, in the name of all, by the most illustrious of their number, S. Avitus of Vienne, who, in a letter to the Roman Senators, Faustus and Symmachus, says: "We were in a state of anxiety and alarm about the cause of the Roman Church, inasmuch as we felt *that our order was endangered by an attack upon its head.*" Again, further on, "What license for accusation against the headship of the Universal Church ought to be

* Mansi, viii. 248.

allowed?" And, "As a Roman Senator and a Christian Bishop, I conjure you that the state of the Church be not less precious to you than that of the Commonwealth. If you judge the matter with your profound consideration, not merely is that cause which was examined at Rome to be contemplated, but as, if in the case of other Bishops any danger be incurred, it can be repaired, *so if the Pope of the City be put in question, not a single Bishop, but the Episcopate itself, will appear to be in danger. He who rules the Lord's fold* will render an account how he administers the care of the lambs intrusted to him; but it belongs not to the flock to alarm its own shepherd, but to the Judge. Wherefore restore to us, if it be not yet restored, concord in our chief."*

No mediæval Saint, as it seems, understood the Pope's office and universal charge better than S. Avitus.

Ennodius, afterwards Bishop of Ticinum, wrote a defence of this Council, which was so approved as to be put among the Apostolical decrees: in this he says: "God perchance has willed to terminate the causes of other men by means of men; but the Prelate of that See He hath reserved, without question, to His own judgment. It is His will that the successors of the Blessed Apos-

* Mansi, viii. 293.

tle Peter should owe their innocence to Heaven alone, and should manifest a pure conscience to the inquisition of the most severe Judge. Do you answer, such will be the condition of all souls in that scrutiny? I retort, *that to one was said:* 'Thou art Peter,' &c. And again, that by the voice of holy Pontiffs, the dignity of his See has been made venerable in the whole world, *since all the faithful every where are submitted to it, and it is marked out as the head of the whole Body.*"*

The same S. Avitus, writing a few years later to Pope Hormisdas, says: "Whilst you see that it is suitable to the state of religion, and to the full rules of the Catholic faith, *that the ever-watchful care of your exhortation should inform the flock committed to you throughout all the members of the Universal Church.* As to the devotion of all Gaul, I will promise that all are watching for your sentence respecting the state of the faith."†

And to Senarius, Count of the Patrimony of Theodoric: "You know that it is one of the laws regarding Councils, that in things which pertain to the state of the Church, if any doubt arises, *we should, as obedient members, recur to the supreme Bishop of the Roman Church, as to our head.*"‡

* Mansi, viii. 284. † Ibid. viii. 408. ‡ Gallandi, x. 726.

When Pope Silverius, by a succession of intrigues, had been banished from Rome, under Justinian, in the year 538, he came to Patara, the Bishop of which city went to the Emperor, "and called to witness the judgment of God respecting the expulsion of the Bishop of so great a See, saying that there were in this world many kings, but not one, as that Pope is, over the Church of the whole world." *

No one, so far as I know, has ever accused the great Pope Gregory of usurpation, least of all should an Englishman. He wrote to the Emperor of the day:

"To all who know the Gospel, it is manifest *that the charge of the whole Church was intrusted by the voice of the Lord to the holy Apostle Peter*, chief of all the Apostles. For to him is said, 'Peter, lovest thou Me? feed My sheep.' To him is said, 'Behold, Satan hath desired to sift you,' &c. To him is said, 'Thou art Peter,' &c. Lo, *he hath received the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, the power of binding and loosing is given to him, the care of the whole Church is committed to him and the Primacy*, and yet he is not called Universal Apostle." † S. Gregory well knew that in his own simple title, "Gregory, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God," every thing was

* Baronius, Annal. 538. 13, from Liberatus Diaconus.

† S. Greg. Ep. lib. v. 20.

conveyed; he was preëminently *the Bishop*, and needed not the titles Ecumenical Patriarch, or Universal Apostle, to set forth his charge of Supreme Shepherd. S. Gregory, like all his predecessors and all his successors, was well assured that the Rock was that single point of the Church which could never be moved. "Who is ignorant," says he, "that the holy Church *is established on the firmness of the chief of the Apostles*, who in his name expressed the firmness of his mind, being called Peter from the Rock?" *

This is again attested by an Eastern, S. Maximus, Abbot of Constantinople, afterwards martyred for the faith. He says in a certain letter concerning Pyrrhus, Patriarch of Constantinople, a chief of the Monothelites, about 650:

"If he would neither be a heretic, nor be considered one, let him not satisfy this or that person, for this is superfluous and irrational; since just as when *one* is scandalised by him, *all* are scandalised; so when *one* is satisfied, *all* beyond a doubt are satisfied too. Let him hasten before all to satisfy the Roman See. That done, all will every where, with one accord, hold him pious and orthodox. For he merely talks idly when he thinks of persuading and imposing on suchlike as me, and does not satisfy and implore the most blessed Pope of the most holy Roman

* S. Greg. Ep. lib. vii. 40.

Church, that is, the Apostolic See, *which from the very Incarnate Word of God, but also from all holy Councils, according to the sacred canons and rules has received and holds in all persons, and for all things, empire, authority, and power to bind and to loose, over the universal holy Churches of God, which are in all the world. For when this binds and looses, so also does the Word in Heaven, who rules the celestial virtues.*" * And just before, "Who anathematises the *Roman See, that is, the Catholic Church.*"

Once more let us take another Eastern, S. Theodore, Abbot of the Studium at Constantinople, who, in the year 809, writes: "To the most holy and supreme Father of Fathers, my Lord Leo, Apostolic Pope:

"Since on the great Peter, Christ our God, after the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, conferred also the dignity of the pastoral Headship, to Peter surely, or his successor, whatever innovation is made in the Catholic Church by those who err from the truth must be referred.—Save us, Arch-pastor of the Church which is under Heaven." †

Now, from these testimonies it will be seen that the nature of the supremacy which they set forth is, a charge of the whole flock of our Lord Jesus Christ, reaching therefore to every need

* Mansi, x. 692. † Baronius, Annal. 809. 14.

of the flock, not *intruding* on the particular duties of any subordinate pastorship, but embracing, regulating, and maintaining all, so that the same great Pontiff Gregory observes: "As to what he says that he is subject to the Apostolical See, *I know not what Bishop is not subject to it, if any fault be found in Bishops. But when no fault requires it, all are equal according to the estimation of humility:*" * who also charges his defensor in Sicily not to meddle with the jurisdiction of Bishops; and censuring an act of disobedience in another Bishop, tells him: "Had either of the four patriarchs done this, so great an act of contumacy could not have been passed over without the most grievous scandal." † And this charge necessarily includes guardianship of the faith, and therefore the supreme judgment in causes touching it, and, by consequence, the gift of not being deceived in that judgment.

It is a dream to imagine any other or lesser Primacy than this, which alone could maintain unity.

II. With regard to the second point, almost every testimony hitherto adduced grounds the Primacy on one or other, or all, of the three sayings of our Lord to Peter, who is invariably regarded as continued on, and living in his

* S. Greg. Ep. lib. ix. 59. † Ibid. ii. 52.

successors. And this brings me to the third point.

III. The ordinary government of the Church is perpetually referred back to Peter, as the great type of the Bishop; in fact, the first Bishop himself, and of the whole flock, and so the root and origin of the Episcopate; but as his person was to be continued on through all his successors, and the Episcopate to be an ever-subsisting power, so he is viewed as a living root ever upbearing the tree, and a fountain ever casting forth its stream. Let us see this idea, *possessing*, as it did in truth, the early Fathers, carried out from their hints and intimations into more and more perfect consciousness, till it is evolved by the complete reason and the fervent love of a S. Thomas and a S. Bonaventure.

First, Tertullian in the second century: "For if thou thinkest the Heaven yet shut, remember that the Lord has left the keys of it to Peter, and *through him to the Church*." *

The whole mind of S. Cyprian seems penetrated with this thought. Thus he says:

"This will be" (that is, falling away from the Church into heresy and schism), "most dear brethren, so long as there is no regard *to the source of truth*, no looking *to the head*, nor keep-

* Scorpiace, 10.

ing to the doctrine of our Heavenly Master. If any one consider and weigh this, he will not need length of comment or argument. It is easy to offer proofs to a faithful mind, because in that case the truth may be quickly stated. The Lord saith unto Peter: 'I say unto thee,' saith He, 'that thou art Peter,' &c. To him again, after His resurrection, He says, 'Feed My sheep.' Upon him, being one, He builds His Church; and though He gives to all the Apostles an equal power, and says, 'As My Father hath sent Me, even so I send you,' &c.; yet in order to manifest unity He has, by His own authority, so placed the source of the same unity *as to begin from one.* Certainly the other Apostles also were what Peter was, endued with an equal fellowship both of honour and power; *but a commencement is made from unity*, that the Church may be set before us as one; which one Church in the Song of Songs doth the Holy Spirit design and name in the person of our Lord: 'My Dove, My Spotless One, is but one; she is the only one of her mother; elect of her that bare her.' He who holds not this unity of the Church, does he think that he holds the faith? He who strives against and resists the Church, is he assured that he is in the Church? For the blessed Apostle Paul teaches this same thing, and manifests the sacrament of unity, thus speaking: 'There is one

Body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God.' This unity firmly should we hold and maintain, especially we Bishops presiding in the Church, in order that we may approve the Episcopate itself to be *one* and *undivided*. Let no one deceive the Brotherhood by falsehood; no one corrupt the truth of our faith by a faithless treachery. The Episcopate is one, of which a part is held by each *without division of the whole*. The Church too is one, though she be spread abroad, and multiplies with the increase of her progeny. Even as the sun has rays many, yet one light; and the tree boughs many, yet its strength is one, seated in the deep-lodged root; and as, when many streams flow down from one source, though a multiplicity of waters seem to be diffused from its broad overflowing abundance, unity is preserved in the source itself. Part a ray of the sun from its orb, and its unity forbids this division of light; break a branch from the tree, once broken it can bud no more; cut the stream from its fountain, the remnant will be dried up.

"Thus the Church, flooded with the light of the Lord, puts forth her rays through the whole world, yet with one light, which is spread upon all places, while its unity of Body is not infringed. She stretches forth her branches over the universal

Earth, in the riches of plenty, and pours abroad her bountiful and onward streams; yet there is one Head, one Source, one Mother, abundant in the results of her fruitfulness."

Now in this famous passage no one can doubt that Cyprian is setting forth the Church Catholic, and his very drift is to prove against heresy and schism that she is *one*, and not only *undivided*, but *indivisible*. What, then, is the counterpart in his mind to the images of the sun's orb, the tree's root, the fountain, the head, and the mother? What, but the person and See of Peter, with which he began? It is easy, he says, to offer proofs to faith, because the truth is quickly stated. What truth? Peter's Primacy, and Universal Pastorship. *

And to this he refers again and again:

"Peter thus speaks, *upon whom the Church was to be built, teaching in the name of the Church.*" †

"Peter, whom *first* the Lord chose, upon whom He built His Church." ‡

"Peter, upon whom the Church was founded by God's condescendence." §

"One Church founded by Christ the Lord upon Peter in the origin and principle of unity." ‖

"The Lord to Peter *first*, *upon whom He built*

* De Unitate Ecclesiæ, 3. † Ep. 69. ‡ Ep. 71.
§ De Bono Patientiæ. ‖ Ep. 70.

the Church, and from whom He instituted and set forth the origin of unity, gave that power, that what he had 'loosed on Earth should be loosed in Heaven.'" *

"God is one, and Christ one, and the Church one, and *one the chair founded upon the rock by the Lord's voice.*" †

To Pope Cornelius, of himself, "we know that we exhorted them to acknowledge and to hold by *the root and the womb of the Catholic Church.*"

And to the same:

"They dare to set sail and to carry letters to the Chair of Peter, and that principal Church from which the Unity of the Priesthood took its origin." ‡

"Our Lord speaks in the Gospel, when He is ordering the honour of the Bishop, and the principle of His Church, and says to Peter: 'I say unto thee,' &c. *From this*, through the changes of times and successions, the ordination of Bishops, and the principle of the Church, descends, so that the Church is constituted upon Bishops." §

The thought of S. Cyprian is elucidated a little later by S. Optatus. Arguing with a Donatist adversary, he observes:

"You cannot deny that you know that the Chair of Peter *first of all* was fixed in the city of Rome, in which Peter, the *head* of all the Apos-

* Ep. 73. † Ep. 40. ‡ Ep. 45 and 55. § Ep. 27.

tles, sat; whence too he was named Cephas; *in which single chair unity was to be observed by all, so that the rest of the Apostles should not each maintain a chair to themselves; and that forthwith he should be a schismatic and a sinner who against that singular chair set up another.*" *

And again:

"For the good of unity, blessed Peter both deserved to be preferred to all the Apostles, and *alone received the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, which should afterwards be communicated to the rest.*" †

S. Pacian, of Spain, to another Donatist, about the same time:

"He spake to one, *that from one He might shape out unity.*" ‡

S. Ambrose is possessed with the same view. Speaking in the name of the Council of Aquileia, assembled from almost all the provinces of the West, to the Emperor Gratian, he says: "Your Clemency was to be entreated not to suffer the Roman Church, the head of the whole Roman world, and that sacred faith of the Apostles, to be thrown into disturbance. *For thence, as from a fountain-head, the rights of venerable communion flow unto all.*" §

Meaning, I suppose, that no other particular

* S. Opt. cont. Parm. lib. ii. c. 6. † Ibid. lib. vii. c. 3.
‡ S. Pacian, Third Letter to Sempronian, 26.
§ Mansi, tom. iv. 622.

Church has a right to demand communion with other Churches, unless itself communicate with the Roman Church.*

Speaking of the passage, "Thou art Peter," he says: "Because, therefore, Christ, by His own authority, *gave the kingdom*, could He not confirm this man's faith? whom when He calls the rock, He indicates the foundation of the Church?"† And again: "This is that Peter to whom He said: 'Thou art Peter,' &c. Therefore, *where Peter is, there is the Church:* where the Church is, there is no death, but eternal life."‡

Peter and the Church are viewed as existing together; and the presence of Peter so living in his successors indicates the Church: and is the foundation, not once, but for ever. As long as the building lasts, the foundation supports it.

At the same time, A.D. 386, Pope Siricius wrote to the Bishops of Africa: "Of Peter, through whom both the Apostolate and Episcopate in Christ took its beginning."§

In like manner S. Jerome:

"But you say the Church is founded upon Peter; although in another place this self-same thing takes place upon all the Apostles, and all receive the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, and

* See Ballerini, De Vi ac Ratione Primatus, c. 13.
† De Fide, lib. iv. 5. ‡ In Psal. xl.
§ Coustant. p. 651.

the strength of the Church is consolidated equally upon them: nevertheless, for this reason *out of the twelve one is selected, that by the appointment of a Head the occasion of schism may be taken away.*" *

If a head was necessary for Apostles, how much more for Bishops! So S. Jerome thought, when he cried from the patriarchate of Antioch to Pope Damasus: "I speak with the successor of the fisherman, and the disciple of the cross. I, who follow none as my chief but Christ, am associated in communion with thy Blessedness, that is, with the See of Peter. On that rock the Church is built, I know. Whoso shall eat the Lamb outside that house is profane. Whoso gathereth not with thee, scattereth: that is, he who is not of Christ is of Antichrist." †

And now we are brought to that great Saint who is among the Fathers what Paul is among the Apostles, and S. Thomas among Doctors. Does he recognise S. Peter as the root of Church government, and as continuing on in his successors?

It would be quite enough to refer to his strong approval of those letters of Pope Innocent, given above, which set forth this idea so plainly. But he speaks in his own person:

* Against Jovinian, tom. ii. 279.
† To Damasus, Ep. 15.

"I am held," he said to a Manichæan, "in the Catholic Church by the consent of nations and of races: by authority, begun in miracles, nurtured in hope, attaining its growth in charity, established in antiquity. I am held by the succession of Bishops down to the present Episcopate from the very See of Peter the Apostle, to whom the Lord, after His resurrection, intrusted His sheep to be fed. Lastly, I am held by the very name of Catholic." *

Now the force of this third reason lay in the *universality* and in the *continuance* of S. Peter's pastorship.

And to another Manichæan:

"Shall we then hesitate to hide ourselves in the bosom of that Church, which, even by the confession of the human race, *hath obtained possession of supreme authority from the Apostolic See*, by the succession of Bishops, while heretics in vain have been howling round her, and have been condemned partly by the judgment of the very people, partly by the weight of councils, partly also by the majesty of miracles?" †

But to the Donatists, who enjoyed, and that without the anxiety of a doubt, the Apostolical succession, with the full sacramental system of the Church, as well as her faith, save the point of their schism, he cries out:

* Tom. viii. 153. † De Utilit. Cred. 17.

"You know what the Catholic Church is, and what that is *cut off from the vine;* if there are any among you cautious, let them come; let them find life *in the root.* Come, brethren, if you wish to be engrafted in the vine: a grief it is when we see you lying thus cut off. *Number the Bishops even from the very seat of Peter: and see every succession in that line of Fathers: that is, the Rock, which the proud gates of Hell prevail not against.*"*

Beyond a doubt, then, S. Augustine viewed Peter as continuing on in his successors. But what was his special office as Primate?

"He saith to Peter, *in whose single person He casts the mould of his Church:* 'Peter, lovest thou me?'" †

"In single Peter *the unity of all pastors was figured out.*" ‡

"For Peter himself, to whom He intrusted His sheep as to another self, *He willed to make one with Himself*, that so He might intrust His sheep to him: that He might be the Head, *the other bear the figure of the Body, that is, the Church.*" §

"Peter it was who answered, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' *One for*

* Psalm. in Donatistas, tom. ix. 7.
† Serm. cxxxvii. 3, tom. v. 664.
‡ Serm. cxlvii. c. 2, p. 702.
§ Serm. xlvi. p. 240.

*many he gave the answer, being the oneness in the many.**

"That one Apostle, that is Peter, first and chief in the order of Apostles, in whom the Church was figured." †

"Which Church the Apostle Peter in virtue of the Primacy of his Apostolate represented, *being the type of its universality.*" ‡

"It is said to him, 'I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven,' as if he alone had received the power of binding and loosing; the case really being that he singly said that in the name of all, *and received this together with all, as representing unity itself; therefore one in the name of all, because he is the unity in all.*" §

"The Lord Jesus chose out His disciples before His Passion, as ye know, whom he named Apostles. Amongst these *Peter alone almost every where was thought worthy to represent the whole Church. On account* of that very representing of the whole Church, which he alone bore, he was thought worthy to hear: 'I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven.' For these keys not one man, but the unity of the Church received. *Here, therefore, the superiority of Peter is set forth, because he represented the very universality and unity of the Church,* when it was

* Serm. lxxvi. p. 415.
† Ibid. p. 416. g.
‡ Tom. iii. pars ii. 822.
§ Tom. iii. pars ii. 800.

said to him: I give to thee, what was given to all. Deservedly, also, after His resurrection, the Lord delivered His sheep to Peter himself to feed; for he was not the only one among the disciples who was thought worthy to feed the Lord's sheep, but when Christ speaks to one, unity is commended: and to Peter above all, *because* Peter is the first among the Apostles." *

It would be hard to express the Papal idea more exactly than in these words: "Peter, who is the mould of the Church," "in whom the unity of all pastors is figured," "who bears the figure of the Body, that is, the Church," "the oneness in the many," "the type of universality and of unity," and as such "receiving the keys together with all."

But before leaving the African Church let us look forward to the year 646, when we find it in a body writing thus to Pope Theodore:

"To the most blessed Lord, raised to the height of the Apostolic throne, the holy Father of Fathers, and the Pontiff supreme over all prelates, Pope Theodore, Columbus, Bishop of the first See of the Council of Numidia, and Stephen, Bishop of the first See of the Byzacene Council, and Reparatus, Bishop of the first See of the Council of Mauritania, and all the Bishops of the

* Serm. ccxcv.

three above-mentioned Councils of the province of Africa.

"No one can doubt that there is in the Apostolic See *a great unfailing fountain, pouring forth waters for all Christians, whence rich streams proceed, bountifully irrigating the whole Christian world.* To this, in honour of the most blessed Peter, the decrees of the Fathers have assigned all peculiar reverence, in inquiring into the things of God, which should every where be carefully examined, but specially by the apostolic head of the prelates himself, whose solicitude of old it is to condemn the evil and to approve the good. For by ancient rules it has been established that whatever was being carried on," &c.;* and then they proceed to incorporate that very answer given in 416 by Pope Innocent to the Council of Carthage, which I have cited above, which we have seen S. Augustine approving, and which sets forth the powers of the Apostolic See, as the living fountain of the Church.

Meanwhile let us glance at the view which the Greek Fathers have of the person and office of Peter.

Origen speaks "*of the sum of authority* being delivered to Peter as to feeding the sheep, and the Church being *founded upon him, as upon the Earth.*" †

* Mansi, x. 919. † In Rom. lib. v. tom. iv. 568.

Gregory of Nyssa: "*Through Peter* He gave to Bishops the key of celestial honours."*

His brother, S. Basil: "He that, through the superiority of his faith, received upon himself the building of the Church;" and,

"Blessed Peter, selected before all the Apostles, alone receiving more testimonies and blessings than the rest, that was intrusted with the keys of the kingdom of Heaven." †

Gregory of Nazianzum: "Do you see, of Christ's disciples, all being lifted up high, and worthy of the election, one is called *the Rock, and is intrusted with the foundations of the Church?*" ‡

S. Chrysostom, out of many passages: "One intrusted by Christ with the flock,"—"himself put in charge of all,"—"Christ put into his hands the presidency of the Universal Church,"—"He put into the hands of a mortal man power over all things in Heaven when He gave him the keys."

Now the great Eastern Councils, in the next generation to these Fathers, acknowledge the Pope as sitting in Peter's seat.

I have already quoted§ a remarkable letter of Pope Boniface, in the year 422, which fully sets

* De Castigat. tom ii. 746.

† Adv. Eunom. ii. tom. i. 240, and tom. ii. 221.

‡ Orat. xxxii. tom. i. 591. § See above, sec. 4.

forth the idea we are tracing; and another of S. Leo; but I add the following:

"To our most beloved brethren, all the Bishops throughout the province of Vienne, Leo, Bishop of Rome.

"The Lord hath willed that the mystery of this gift (of announcing the Gospel) should belong to the office of all the Apostles, on *the condition of its being chiefly seated in the most blessed Peter*, first of all the Apostles: *and from him, as it were from the Head, it is His pleasure that His gifts should flow into the whole Body*, that *whoever dares to recede from the Rock of Peter may know that he has no part in the divine mystery. For him hath He assumed into the participation of His indivisible unity, and willed that he should be named what He Himself is, saying:* 'Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build My Church,' *that the rearing of the eternal temple by the wonderful gift of the grace of God might consist in the solidity of Peter, strengthening with this firmness His Church*, that neither the rashness of men might attempt it, nor the gates of Hell prevail against it." *

The Empress Galla Placidia, about the same time, 450, writes to the Emperor Theodosius:

"Let your Clemency give order that the truth of the faith of the Catholic religion be kept im-

* S. Leo. Ep. 10.

maculate: that according to the form and definition of the Apostolic See, which we also equally venerate as of especial dignity, Flavian remaining in the rank of his priesthood wholly unharmed, judgment be issued by the Council of the Apostolic See, in which he first, who was worthy to receive the heavenly keys, ordered the chiefship of the Episcopate to be." *

This was to support the single authority of S. Leo against the regularly called Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, in 449.

In the year 490 Pope Felix III. writes to the Emperor Zeno, praising the newly-elected Patriarch Flavita, for "*referring the commencement of his dignity* to the See of the blessed Apostle Peter;" and speaks of his letter, in which he wished to be "supported by that power, *from which, at the desire of Christ, the full grace of all Pontiffs is derived.*" †

Pope Gelasius, in 492, speaks of the See of Peter, "*through which the dignity of all Bishops has ever been strengthened and confirmed*, and for which, by the all-prevailing and peculiar judgment of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, *its most ancient honour was maintained.* Inasmuch as they remembered the sentence of the Lord." He then quotes the three passages, and goes on, "Why, then, is the Lord's

* S. Leo, Ep. 56. † Mansi, vii. 1098.

discourse so often directed to Peter? Were not then the other holy and blessed Apostles endued with similar virtue? Who would venture to assert this? But 'that by the appointment of a head the occasion of schism might be removed,' and that the Body of Christ might be shown to be of one compactness, meeting in one head by the most glorious bond of affection, and that the Church, which should be faithfully believed, might be one, and one the house of the one Lord and one Redeemer, in which we should be nourished of one Bread and one Cup. Wherefore, as I have said, our ancestors, those reverend masters of the Churches, being full of the charity of Christ, *sent to that See in which Peter the Apostle had sat the commencement of their Episcopate, asking from thence the strongest confirmation of their own solidity. In order that by this sight it may be evident to all that the Church of Christ is really in all respects one and indissoluble, which, wrought together by the bond of concord, and the wondrous contexture of charity, is shown to be that robe of Christ, single and undivided throughout, which not even the very soldiers who crucified the Lord dared to part.*" *

In a fragment of a letter of the Pope Vigilius, in 538, we have:

"To no one well or ill informed is it doubtful

* Mansi, viii. 75.

that the Roman Church is *the foundation and the mould* of the Churches, from which no one of right belief is ignorant that all Churches have derived their beginning. Since, though the election of all the Apostles was equal, yet a preëminence over the rest was granted to blessed Peter, whence he is also called Cephas, being the *head and beginning* of all the Apostles: and what hath gone before in the head must follow in the members. Wherefore the holy Roman Church, through his merit consecrated by the Lord's voice, and established by the authority of the holy Fathers, holds the Primacy over all Churches, to which as well the highest concerns of Bishops, their causes, and complaints, as the greater questions of the Churches, are ever to be referred, as to the head. For he who knows himself to be set over others should not object to one being placed over himself. For the Church itself, which is the first, has bestowed its authority on the rest of the Churches with this condition, that they be called to a part of its solicitude, not to the fulness of its power. Whence the causes of all Bishops who appeal to the Apostolic See, and the proceedings in all greater causes, are known to be reserved to that holy See; especially as in all these its decision must always be awaited: and if any Bishop attempts to resist this course, let him know that he will give account

to that holy See, not without endangering his own rank."*

It is natural that the governing power should speak more fully of itself, but other Bishops express just the same idea. Thus S. Cæsarius, A.D. 502, Archbishop of Arles, addressing a series of questions to Pope Symmachus, speaks of the Roman See as the original fountain, and *therefore* the continual guardian of the Church's laws. "*As* from the person of the blessed Apostle Peter the Episcopate takes its beginning, *so* it is necessary that your Holiness should plainly show by competent rules to the different Churches what they are to observe." †

And John, Archbishop of Ravenna, speaks to S. Gregory of "that most holy See which *transmits its rights to the Universal Church.*" ‡

And Stephen, Metropolitan of Larissa, in 531, petitions Pope Boniface for help, reminding him that "Peter, the Father and Doctor of your holy Church, and of the whole world, when the Lord said to him the third time, 'Lovest thou Me? feed My sheep,' *first delivered to you his commission, and then through you bestowed it on all the holy Churches throughout the world.*" §

In this faith our own Bede was nurtured, who says: "For this blessed Peter, *in a special way*,

* Mansi, ix. 33.
† Ibid. viii. 211.
‡ S. Greg. Ep. lib. iii. 57
§ Mansi, viii. 741.

received the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, and *the headship of judicial power*, that all believers throughout the world may understand, *that whosoever in any way separate themselves from the unity of his faith or of his society, such are not able to be absolved from the bonds of their sins, nor to enter the threshold of the heavenly kingdom.*" *

The great Archbishop Hincmar, the most vigorous defender of the rights of the Episcopate in the ninth century, says:

"In that See the Lord presiding as on His own throne examines the acts of others, and dispenses all wonderfully as from His own seat."

And again:

"Catholic Bishops, we decree and judge all things according to the sacred canons and the decrees of the Pontiffs of the Apostolic See: the Apostolic See, and the Catholic Church, in our persons, that are created Bishops in the stead of Apostles, as in ordering coörders, and in decreeing canonically decrees together, and in judging judges together with us. And we who execute the sacred canons and the decrees of the Pontiffs of the Roman See, under the judgment of the Apostolic Rock itself, in this nothing else but supporters of those who judge with justice, and executors of righteous judgments, pay obedience to the Holy Spirit, who hath spoken through

* Homily on S. Peter.

them, and to the Apostolic See, *from which the stream of religion, and of ecclesiastical orders and canonical judgment, has flowed forth.*" *

And in the same age, A.D. 847, writes "the Emperor Lothaire to our most holy spiritual Father, Leo, Supreme Pontiff, and Universal Pope." "The supernal disposition hath therefore willed the Apostolic See to hold the Primacy of the Churches, which See, through the most blessed Apostle Peter, in the whole world, on whichever side the Christian religion is diffused, is the head and foundation of sanctity, that in whatsoever causes, questions, or matters, the necessity of the Church might advise, all should recur *as to the standard of religion, and the fountain-head of equity.*" †

Lastly, Pope Gregory IV., in 830, writes to all Bishops: "We enjoin not any thing new in our present orders, but confirm those things which seem of old allowed: as no one doubts, that not merely any pontifical question, but every matter of holy religion, ought to be referred to the Apostolic See as the head of the Churches, *and thence to take its rule whence it derived its beginning, that the head of the institution seem not to be left out, the sanction of whose authority all Bishops*

* Hincmar, quoted by Thomassin, Disc. de l'Eglise, part i. lib. i. c. 5.

† Mansi, xiv. 884.

should hold, who desire not to be torn from the solidity of the Apostolic Rock, on which Christ has built the Universal Church." *

And here, before the termination of the ancient discipline, and the separation of the East, and before the introduction of the false decretals, I conclude this line of witnesses, adding only the testimony, four hundred years later, of the two great schoolmen, who in this assuredly, as in a multitude of other instances, have only set forth in their full light principles which had worked from the beginning in the Church. It is the same belief, implicit in S. Augustine, explicit in S. Thomas; faith but uses reason as her handmaid in the latter to explain what she saw with direct vision in both.

"It is plain that the supreme power of government over the faithful belongs to the Episcopal dignity. But likewise,

"1. That though populations are distinguished into different dioceses and cities, yet as there is one Church, so there must be one Christian people. As, therefore, in the spiritual population of one Church, one Bishop is required to be the Head of the whole population, so in the whole Christian people one is required to be the Head of the whole Church.

"2. Also, for the unity of the Church it is re-

* Mansi, xiv. 517.

quired that all the faithful agree in faith. But concerning points of faith it happens that questions are raised. Now the Church would be divided by a diversity of opinions, unless it were preserved in unity by the sentence of one. So then it is demanded for the preservation of the Church's unity that there be one to preside over the whole Church. Now it is plain that Christ is not wanting in necessary things to the Church which He loved, and for which He shed His blood, since even of the synagogue it is said by the Lord, 'What more ought I to have done for My vineyard, which I have not done?' (Isa. v. 4.) We cannot therefore doubt that one, by the ordering of Christ, presides over the whole Church.

"3. Further, no one can doubt that the regimen of the Church is best ordered, inasmuch as it is disposed by Him through Whom kings reign, and princes decree justice" (Prov. viii. 15): now it is the best regimen of the multitude to be governed by one, which is plain from the end of government, namely, tranquillity: for that, and the unity of the subjects, is the end of the ruler. Now one is a more congruent cause of unity than many. Thus it is plain that the regimen of the Church is so disposed that one presides over the whole.

"4. Moreover, the Church militant is drawn by likeness from the Church triumphant, whence

John in the Apocalypse saw Jerusalem descending from Heaven, and Moses was told to make all things according to the pattern shown to him in the Mount. Now in the Church triumphant One presides, who presides also over the whole universe, that is, God: as it is said (Rev. xxi. 3): 'They shall be His people, and God Himself shall be with them, their God.' Therefore, also, in the Church militant there is one who presides over all. This is what is said in Hosea i. 11: 'Then shall the children of Judah and the children of Israel be gathered together, and appoint themselves one head;' and the Lord says, in John x. 16: 'There shall be one fold, and one shepherd.'

"But should any one object that Christ is the One Head and One Shepherd, Who is the One Bridegroom of the One Church, *it is not a sufficient answer.* For it is plain that Christ Himself performs the Church's Sacraments: for He it is Who baptises, He Who remits sins, He is the true Priest Who offered Himself on the altar of the cross, and by Whose virtue His body is daily consecrated on the Altar: and yet, because He was not at present to be corporally with all the faithful, He hath chosen ministers by whom He dispenses the aforenamed to the faithful. Therefore, by the same reason, because He was about to withdraw from the Church His corporal presence,

it was behoving that He should commit to some one the charge of the Universal Church in His place. Hence it is that He said to Peter, before His ascension: 'Feed My sheep:' and before His passion: 'Thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren:' and to him alone He promised: 'I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven,' *that the power of the keys might be pointed out as to be derived through him to others, for the preservation of the Church's unity.*

"But it cannot be said that, although He gave this dignity to Peter, yet it is not derived through him to others. For it is plain that Christ so set up His Church that it should last for ever, according to that of Isaiah ix. 7: 'He shall sit upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth for ever.' Plain, therefore, is it that He set up in their ministry those who then were, in such a way that their power should be derived unto their successors for the good of the Church unto the end of the world; especially as He says Himself: 'Lo, I am with you alway to the end of the world.'

"But by this is excluded the presumptuous error of certain persons, who endeavour to withdraw themselves from obedience and subjugation

to Peter, by not recognising his successor, the Roman Pontiff, as Pastor of the Universal Church."*

S. Bonaventure adds to this all that is needed:

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator and Governor of all things, when He was about to ascend into Heaven, intrusted His Holy Church to His Apostles, for its government and diffusion, principally to the blessed Apostle Peter, to whom He said specially three times, concerning the universal flock of the faithful: 'Feed My sheep.' But that the Universal Church might be governed in a more ordered manner, the holy Apostles arranged it into Patriarchates, Primacies, Archbishoprics, Bishoprics" (he means the *thing*, not the *names*, for these are later), "Parishes, and other canonical distinctions: that, inasmuch as by one or by few the individual faithful could not be fitly provided with all things necessary to salvation, many might be called to a participation of this care, according to their several limitations, for the good of souls; and, in proportion to the extent of pastoral care, each one of them too received a certain power of authority, the fulness of ecclesiastical power dwelling in the Apostolic See of the Roman Church, in which the Apostle Peter, Prince of the Apostles, specially sat, and left there to his successors the same power.

* S. Thomas, Summa contra Gentiles, iv. 76.

"But *threefold* is the fulness of this power, viz. in that the Supreme Pontiff himself *alone* has the whole fulness of authority which Christ bestowed on His Church, and that he has it *every where* in all Churches as in his own special See of Rome, and that from him all authority *flows* unto all inferiors throughout the Universal Church, as it is competent for each to participate in it, as in Heaven all the glory of the Saints flows from the very fountain of all good, Jesus Christ, though each share it in different degrees according to their capacity."*

The sum of all this is, what age after age is bringing out with more and more distinctness, that the visibility and unity of the Church depend on the Supreme Pontiff; those who reject him maintain neither One Body nor One Spirit.

And it surely adds very greatly to the force of the preceding argument, that on the other side no intelligible view as to the origin and maintenance of mission and jurisdiction in the Church can even be presented to the mind. You search in vain for any antagonist system which will hold together, which will bear to be thought upon, and not run up into confusion and anarchy. What is this, after all, but saying, that a Body requires a Head, and a visible Body a visible Head?

* S. Bonaventure, Cur Fratres Minores prædicent, tom. vii. 366.

IV. I now come to the fourth point, that the Papal Supremacy over the East was acknowledged by its own rulers and Councils before the separation.

This indeed is already fully involved in the first and second points, but I add a few more special proofs.

The first which I shall bring would seem to render all others needless. In the year 519 was terminated a schism of thirty-seven years, brought about by the wickedness of Acacius, formerly Patriarch of Constantinople, who, with the whole civil power of the Greek Emperor to back him, had communicated with heretics, interfered with the succession of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and caused unnumbered evils to the Eastern Church. By the advice of Acacius, the Emperor Zeno had put forth a decree, called the Henoticon, or preserver of peace, which made it an open question to hold or deny the faith of the Council of Chalcedon; and he forced the Bishops throughout his empire to sign this. The alleged purpose was to keep both parties, the Eutychean heretics and the Catholics, in the Church. Acacius, for his misdeeds, had been solemnly deposed and excommunicated by Pope Felix; but he was supported by the Emperor in possession of the See of Constantinople, and other Patriarchs succeeded him; and the whole East became severed

from the West, save that great numbers in all parts adhered to the Roman communion in spite of persecution. At length, in the year 519, peace was restored on these terms: That the Patriarch John, of Constantinople, and all the Bishops subject to him, should sign a formulary, dictated by Pope Hormisdas, in which they professed obedience in all things to the See of Rome, acknowledged in it a primacy by gift of our Lord, which involved perpetual purity of faith and necessity of communion with that See, and anathematised by name their own Patriarch Acacius, and all who had followed him. I have given the form in the proceedings of the eighth Council, where it was used again. The Patriarch John sets forth the one chair of the Episcopate, saying: "I declare the See of the Apostle Peter, and that of the Imperial City (Constantinople), to be one See; promising for the future that those severed from the communion of the Catholic Church, that is, not agreeing in all things with the Apostolic See, shall not have their names recited at the sacred mysteries."*

Submission more complete can hardly be imagined.

In the year 536 the Emperor Justinian signed the same formulary, and presented it to Pope Agapetus, to clear himself from the imputation

* Mansi, viii. 451.

of favouring the heresy of Anthimus, Patriarch of Constantinople, whom that Pope had just deposed. He says in it: "Wherefore following in all things the Apostolic See, we set forth what has been ordained by it. And we profess that these things shall be kept without fail, and will order that all Bishops shall do according to the tenor of that formulary: the Patriarchs to your Holiness, and the Metropolitans to the Patriarchs, and the rest to their own Metropolitans: that in all things our Holy Catholic Church *may have its proper solidity.*"*

How could the Emperor Justinian express more plainly his belief that the Apostolic See was the rock of the Catholic faith, which indeed is said expressly at the beginning of the formulary?

About the year 650, Pope S. Martin exercises his power of universal jurisdiction by constituting John, Bishop of Philadelphia, his Vicar in the East, "that you may correct the things which are wanting, and appoint Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons in every city of those which are subject to the See both of Jerusalem and of Antioch; we charging you to do this in every way, in virtue of the Apostolic authority which was given us by the Lord in the person of most holy Peter, prince of the Apostles; on account of the

* Mansi, viii. 857.

necessities of our time, and the pressure of the nations." *

All that I have laid down under the third point is required to justify this exercise of authority.

Again, Pope Gelasius asks why Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, "had not been diligent to give in accounts to the Apostolic See, from which he knew *that the care of those regions*" (the East in general) "*had been delegated to him?*" †

The following are cases of the confirmation of Eastern Patriarchs by the Roman See:

Pope Celestine confirms Maximianus in the See of Constantinople, after the deposition of Nestorius, A.D. 432. He writes to him: "Take the helm of the ship well known to you, and direct it, as we know that you have learnt from your predecessors." ‡

The same Pope having written to the Bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, and Thessalonica, authorizing the translation of Bishops, provided it were for the general good, Proclus was transferred from Cyzicus to the Patriarchal Chair of Constantinople. §

Pope Simplicius (A.D. 482) in his letter to Aca-

* Mansi, x. 806. † Ibid. viii. 61. ‡ Coustant. 1206.
§ Socrates, Hist. vii. 39, 40. Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, part ii. lib. ii. c. 61.

cius, Patriarch of Constantinople, says that nothing was wanting to a new Patriarch of Alexandria, "*save that he might receive that establishment in his See which he desired by the assent of our Apostolic rule.*"* And of the Patriarch of Antioch: "Having embraced, in the bosom of the Apostolic See, the Episcopate of our brother and fellow-bishop Calendion, we take into the number of our fellowship, through the grace of Christ our God, in the union of our order (*collegii*), the prelate of so great a city."

Maximus, Patriarch of Antioch, had been irregularly appointed by Dioscorus, at the Robbers' Council of Ephesus, 449; but he is confirmed in his See by S. Leo, at the Council of Chalcedon.

"Anatolius, Archbishop of Constantinople, spoke. We decree that nothing done in that called a Council shall hold good, except concerning most holy Maximus, Bishop of the great city of Antioch; since most holy Leo, Archbishop of Rome, by receiving him into communion, *hath judged that he should govern the Church at Antioch;* which prescription I too, following, have approved, and all the present holy Council."†

The following refer to appeals:

Pope Boniface I. (A.D. 422), writing to the Bishops of Thessaly, thus sets forth cases of subjection to his See, which had occurred in the preceding century:

* Mansi, vii. 991, 992. † Ibid. vii. 258.

"The care of the Universal Church, laid upon him, attends the blessed Apostle Peter, by the Lord's decree; which indeed, by the witness of the Gospel, he knows to be founded on himself; nor can his honour ever be free from anxieties, *since it is certain that the supreme authority* (summam rerum) *depends on his deliberation.* Which things carry my mind even to the regions of the East, which by the force of our solicitude we in a manner behold. . . . . As the occasion needs it, we must prove by instances that the greatest Eastern Churches, in important matters, which required greater discussion, have always consulted the Roman See, and, as often as need arose, asked its help. Athanasius and Peter, of holy memory, Bishops of the Church of Alexandria, asked the help of this See. When the Church of Antioch had been in trouble a long time, so that there was continual passing to and fro for this, first under Meletius, afterwards under Flavian, it is notorious that the Apostolic See was consulted. By whose authority, after many things done by our Church, every one knows that Flavian received the grace of communion, which he had gone without for ever, had not writings gone from hence respecting it. The Emperor Theodosius, of merciful memory, considering the ordination of Nectarius to want ratification, because it was not according to our

rule" (on account of his being a layman), "sent an embassy of Councillors and Bishops, and solicited a letter of communion to be regularly despatched to him from the Roman See, *to confirm his Episcopate.* A short time since, that is, under my predecessor Innocent, of blessed memory, the Pontiffs of the Eastern Churches, grieving at their severance from the Communion of blessed Peter, asked by their Legates for reconciliation, as your Charity remembers."*

This agrees with what the Greek historian Sozomen tells us, that "the Bishop of the Romans having inquired into the accusations against each" (S. Athanasius, Paul Bishop of Constantinople, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Asclepas of Gaza), "when he found them all agreeing with the doctrine of the Nicene Synod, *admitted them to communion as agreeing with him. And inasmuch as the care of all belonged to him on account of the rank of his See, he restored to each his Church.*"†

Pope S. Gregory hears an appeal of an Abbot, John of Constantinople, from the Patriarch John, reverses his sentence, and compels him to receive the Abbot back.‡

About the year 500, the Bishops of the East, suffering under the schism of Acacius, address Pope Symmachus for relief, begging him to take them to his communion. They say that they

* Coustant. 1039. † Hist. iii. c. viii. ‡ Ep. lib. vi. 24.

supplicate him not on account of the loss of one sheep, having just quoted the parable of the Good Shepherd, but for almost three parts of the world. "But do thou, as an affectionate father among children, beholding us perishing by the prevarication of our Father Acacius, not delay: who art daily taught by the sacred doctor Peter to feed the sheep of Christ intrusted to thee throughout the whole habitable world, gathered together, not by force, but of their own accord."*

A few years later, on a like occasion, Pope Hormisdas (A.D. 514) is addressed by about two hundred Archimandrites, Presbyters, and Deacons of Syria.

"To the most holy and blessed Patriarch of the whole Earth, Hormisdas, holding the See of Peter, Prince of the Apostles, the entreaty and supplication of the humble Archimandrites and other Monks of the province of Second Syria.

"Since Christ our God *has appointed you Chief Pastor, and Teacher, and Physician of souls*, we beseech you, therefore, most blessed Father, to arise, and justly *condole with the Body torn to pieces, for ye are the Head of all*, and avenge the Faith despised, the Canons trodden under foot, the Fathers blasphemed. The flock itself comes forward to recognise its own Shep-

* Mansi, viii. 221.

herd in you its true Pastor and Doctor, to whom the care of the sheep is intrusted for their salvation." *

The following are from a Metropolitan of Cyprus, and a Patriarch suffering under the Monothelites (A.D. 643).

"To the most blessed Father of Fathers, Archbishop and Universal Patriarch, Theodore, Sergius, the humble Bishop, health in the Lord.

"Christ our God hath established thy Apostolic See, O Sacred Head, as a divinely-fixed immovable foundation, whereon the faith is brightly inscribed. For 'Thou art Peter,' as the Divine Word truly pronounced, and on thy foundation the pillars of the Church are fixed. Into thy hands He put the keys of the Heavens, and pronounced that thou shouldst bind and loose in Earth and Heaven with power." †

The petition of Stephen, Bishop of Dora, first member of the Synod of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, read in the Lateran Council of Pope Martin (A.D. 649).

"Who shall give us the wings of a dove, that we may fly and report this to your supreme See, which rules and is set over all, that the wound may be entirely healed? For this the great Peter, the Head of the Apostles, has been wont to do with power from of old, by his Apostolical

* Mansi, viii. 428. † Ibid. x. 913.

or Canonical authority; since manifestly not only was he alone beside all thought worthy to be intrusted with the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, to open and to shut these, worthily to the believing, but justly to those unbelieving the Gospel of Grace. Not to say that he first was set in charge to feed the sheep of the whole Catholic Church; for He says: 'Peter, lovest thou Me? Feed My sheep.' And again, in a manner special and peculiar to himself, having a stronger faith than all in our Lord, and unchangeable, to convert and confirm his spiritual partners and brethren, when tossed by doubt, having had power and sacerdotal authority providentially committed to him by the very God for our sakes Incarnate. Which knowing, Sophronius, of blessed memory, Patriarch of the holy city of Christ our God,—placed me on Holy Calvary,—and there bound me with indissoluble bonds, saying: 'Thou shalt give account to our God, Who on this sacred spot was willingly sacrificed in the flesh for us, at His glorious and dreadful appearing, when He shall judge the living and the dead, if thou delay and neglect His Faith endangered: though I, as though knowest, cannot do this personally, for the inroad of the Saracens, which has burst on us for our sins. *Go then with all speed from one end of the earth to the other, till thou come to the Apostolic See,*

where the foundations of the true faith are laid. Not once, not twice, but many times accurately make known to the holy men there what has been stirred up among us, and cease not earnestly entreating and requesting, till out of their Apostolic wisdom they bring judgment unto victory."*

V. The relation of the Roman Bishop to Councils plainly indicates his rank.

Pope Celestine thus instructs the Legates whom he was sending to the Third General Council:

"When, by God's help, as we believe and hope, your charity shall have reached the appointed place, direct all your counsel to our brother and fellow-Bishop Cyril" (already deputed to be the Pope's Legate in this matter), "and do whatsoever shall be advised by him; *and we charge you to take care that the authority of the Apostolic See be maintained.* If the instructions given to you tend to this, be present at the Council; if it comes to a discussion, *you are to judge of their sentences, not to enter into a contest.*"†

To the Council itself the Pope writes, as we have seen, that he doubts not they will agree to what he has ordered to be executed.

The Council replies to the Pope: "The zeal

* Mansi, x. 894. † Coustant. 1152.

of your Holiness in the cause of piety, and your solicitude for the true faith, dear and pleasing to God our Saviour, are worthy of all admiration. For it is your wont, who are so great, to be well approved in all things, and to make the establishment of the Churches the object of your zeal." *

They tell him, further, that they had reserved the excommunication of the Patriarch John of Antioch to his judgment.

In like manner S. Leo writes to the Council of Chalcedon, not doubting that they would accept the letter in which he had defined the true faith.

Socrates and Sozomen give us the key to this language. The former speaks of the "Ecclesiastical Canon ordering that the Churches should not make Canons contrary to the sentence of the Bishop of Rome;" and the latter says, Pope Julius wrote to the Eusebian Bishops, "that it was an hierarchical law to declare null and void what was done against the sentence of the Bishop of the Romans." †

Thus we have seen Dioscorus condemned for holding a Council without Pope Leo. And in the seventh Council (A.D. 787), a previous one of many hundred Bishops is declared not to be Universal, because it had not the presence of the

* Coustant. 1166, 1174.

† Socr. Hist. ii. 17; Soz. iii. 10.

Pope's Legates, "as the law of Councils requires."

From Constantinople S. Theodore Studites writes, about 800, to Pope Leo III.:

"If they, arrogating to themselves authority, have not feared to assemble an heretical Council, *who could not assemble even an orthodox one without your recognition of it* (as the custom from ancient times holds good), how much more just and even necessary were it that a lawful Council should be called by your divine Headship!" *

A little later, just before the Greek schism, Pope Nicholas I. wrote to the Emperor Michael:

"Observe that not the Nicene, nor any Council whatever, granted any privilege whatever to the Roman Church, as knowing that in the person of Peter *it had fully received the right of all power, and the regimen of all Christ's sheep*," referring to a letter of Pope Boniface, four hundred years earlier, which had said the like.†

VI. But this point is closely connected with the next, the confirmation of Councils. And perhaps nothing shows more conclusively the imperium over all belonging to the See of S. Peter than this right.

S. Jerome tells us that at the latter part of the fourth century the Roman See was perpetually referred to for its judgment on difficult matters by

* Baronius, Ann. 809, No. 15. † Mansi, xv. 205.

Councils both of the East and West. "I was secretary to Damasus, Bishop of the Roman city, and answered the synodical consultations of the East and West." *

S. Innocent, a few years later, says that nothing was *terminated* without the consent of that See.

But the strongest exertion of this power is, giving that ratification to General Councils, without which they do not express the voice of the Church Catholic. And this power will be sufficiently proved, if some Councils, which would otherwise have been general, were not so, simply from wanting this Papal ratification: and others, not of themselves general, became so, simply from having it.

Of the former class is the Council of Ariminum in 359, attended by more than four hundred Bishops, and whose formulary was signed by the Bishops of the East. Yet in the Council held by Pope Damasus at Rome ten years afterwards, it was declared that the number of Bishops assembled there could not carry force, because the agreement of the Roman Bishop was wanting. And this has been always held since. †

Yet more remarkable is the case of the second Council of Ephesus, regularly called, attended by all the East, and by the Legates of S. Leo,

* Ep. 123. † Synodal Letter, Mansi, iii. 458.

but annulled by his subsequent opposition to it, and branded as the Robbers' Council.

Of the latter class, a Council held at Constantinople of one hundred and fifty Bishops of the East alone, which set forth the divinity of the Holy Spirit, became the second General Council solely by Pope Damasus accepting its decrees of faith.

A Council held by the influence of Justinian, against the wishes of Pope Vigilius, and bitterly opposed by all the West, became the fifth General Council, because it was subsequently confirmed by Vigilius.

And the influence of the Popes, it is well known, alone induced the West to receive the seventh General Council, where indeed the Papal Legates were the only Westerns who sat.

Again, observe that S. Leo *annuls* the second Council of Ephesus, but *excepts* the ordination of Maximus to Antioch; and *ratifies* the Council of Chalcedon, but *excepts* the exaltation of the See of Constantinople.

And the third General Council having left to Pope Celestine the decision as to the excommunication of the Patriarch John of Antioch, Xystus, his successor, writes to S. Cyril:

"As to the Bishop of Antioch, and the rest, who with him wished to be partisans of Nestorius, and as to all who govern Churches con-

trary to the ecclesiastical discipline, *we have already determined this rule*, that if they become wiser, and with their leader reject every thing which the holy Council has rejected *with our confirmation*, they are to return into their place as Bishops."*

ncil at Rome, held in the year 485, writing to the Clergy of Constantinople, observes, with regard to the name of Pope Felix *alone* being appended to the decree deposing Acacius: "As often as the Priests of the Lord are assembled within Italy for ecclesiastical matters, especially of faith, the custom is retained that the successor of the Prelates of the Apostolic See, in the person of all the Bishops of the whole of Italy, according to the care over all Churches which belongs to him, should regulate all things, for he is the head of all: as the Lord says to blessed Peter: 'Thou art Peter,' &c. *Following which voice, the three hundred and eighteen Fathers assembled at Nicæa left the confirmation and ratification of matters to the holy Roman Church, both of which down to our time all successions by the help of Christ's grace maintain.*" †

If an assertion thus publicly made, by such an authority, in the absence of any thing to contradict it, is not to be believed, very few facts of history are more worthy of credit.

* Coustant. 1238. † Mansi, vii. 1140.

Pope Gelasius, writing to the Bishops of Dardania, in 495, observes: "We trust that no true Christian is ignorant that the appointment of every Council which the assent of the Universal Church has approved ought to be executed by no other See but the first, *which both confirms every Council by its authority, and maintains them by its continued government, in virtue, that is, of its headship, which blessed Peter received indeed from the Lord's voice, but the Church, no less following that voice, hath ever held, and holds*" *

Ferrandus, a well-known deacon of Carthage, writing in 533 to two deacons of the Church of Rome, says:

"It is only the divine precepts in the canonical books, and the decrees of the Fathers in General Councils, which are not to be refuted, nor rejected, but maintained and embraced, according to that command of Holy Scripture: 'Hear, my son, the law of thy father, and despise not the advice of thy mother.' For the law of the father is conspicuous, as it seems to me, in the canonical books: the advice of the mother is contained in Universal Councils. The Bishops, moreover, who meet there, subscribe their own statutes, that no doubt may be left by whom the discussion has been held: but, besides these, no further subscription is required: for it is held to

* Mansi, viii. 51.

be sufficient for full confirmation, if, brought to the knowledge of the whole Church, they cause no offence or scandal to the brethren, and are approved to agree with the Apostolic faith, *being confirmed by the consent of the Apostolic See.*"*

VII. And now every witness whom I have hitherto brought confirms likewise the remaining point,—the necessity of communion with the Pope. If his Primacy extends over the whole Church, as its controlling, regulating, maintaining, and uniting power, which supports its discipline, and gives voice to its faith; if this be by direct gift of our Lord, who conferred upon Peter alone that whole Episcopate, of which others were to hold a part in communion with him and in dependence on him, and as long as this Episcopate endures, the original condition of his existence endures likewise; if, as having *that* whole and complete in himself of which others have a part, he is the living source and spring of mission and jurisdiction; if the Eastern Church acknowledged such a Primacy, when the imperial power was proudest in her, and when the See of Rome was politically no longer subject to that imperial power; if "the Churches may not make canons contrary to the sentence of the Bishop of Rome;" if his See "confirms every Council by its authority, and maintains them by its continued govern-

* Gallandi, tom. xi. 363.

ment;"—how can he not be the centre of unity, so "that whoever dares recede from the rock of Peter may know that he has no part in the divine mystery"? * Is it any wonder that every Saint is penetrated with this idea? that S. Ambrose cries, "Where Peter is, there is the Church:" S. Jerome, "Whoso gathereth not with thee scattereth:" S. Optatus, "He is a schismatic and a sinner who against that singular chair sets up another:" S. Augustine, "Come, brethren, live in the *root*, be grafted into the *vine*—this is the *Rock*, which the proud gates of Hell prevail not against:" the whole Oriental Church together, "Those severed from the communion of the Catholic Church, that is, not agreeing in all things with the Apostolic See, shall not have their names recited at the sacred mysteries:" or, again, "We follow and obey the Apostolic See; those who communicate with it, we communicate with—those condemned by it, we condemn:"† or, that the Catholic Church of old, assembled in her most numerous General Council, confessed the Bishop of Rome to be the organ of the Holy Spirit dwelling in her, "Leo, most holy and blessed Archbishop of great and elder Rome, *by us*

* Socrates, Pope Gelasius, and S. Leo, all in the fifth century.

† Mennas, Patriarch of Constantinople, at his Council held in 536.

and by this holy Council together with the most blessed Apostle Peter, who is the Rock and Ground of the Catholic Church, and the Foundation of the right faith." Heresy itself, by the voice of one sprung from our own island, in S. Augustine's time spontaneously expressed this. The Briton Pelagius laid his confession of faith before Pope Innocent I. in these words:

"This is the faith, most blessed Pope, which we have learnt in the Catholic Church, and which we always have held and hold. In which if any thing perchance is laid down with somewhat of ignorance, or want of caution, we desire to be corrected by you, who hold both the faith and seat of Peter. But *if this our confession is approved by the judgment of your Apostleship*, then whosoever tries to cast a blot on me will prove himself ignorant, or spiteful, *or even not a Catholic*, but will not prove me a heretic." *

An early Father, Bishop and martyr in Gaul, but a Greek by birth, and only two steps removed from S. John, has given us the reason of all this: "With this Church (the Roman), *on account of its superiority of headship, it is necessary* that every Church should agree, that is, the faithful on every side, in which the tradition from the Apostles has ever been preserved by those who are on every side." †

* S. August. tom. x. App. 97. † S. Irenæus, lib. iii. 3.

May we not, then, sum up the whole belief of the Church concerning that living power which her Lord has put at her centre in the words of one who has been called the last of the Fathers, who, at least in his day, was loved and honoured by all who themselves were worthy of love and honour? Thus speaks S. Bernard to that monk who had been his own spiritual child, but was become his father, as holding the See of Peter: and in him speaks a countless multitude of Holy Doctors, Saints, and Martyrs, who have had no other home, hope, or comfort, but in the Church of God, who but carried on what they had inherited, a perpetual living tradition. Thus he interprets S. Augustine: "This is the Rock against which the proud gates of Hell prevail not."

"Come, let us inquire yet more diligently who you are, that is, what person you, for a time, sustain in the Church of God. Who are you? a great Priest, the Supreme Pontiff. You are chief of the Bishops, heir of the Apostles, in primacy Abel, in government Noah, in patriarchate Abraham, in order Melchizedec, in dignity Aaron, in authority Moses, in judgment Samuel, in power Peter, in unction Christ. You are he to whom the keys are delivered, to whom the sheep are intrusted. Others, indeed, there are who keep the door of Heaven, and are shepherds of flocks, but you have inherited both

names above the rest, as in a more glorious, so in a different way. They have each their several flocks assigned to them, while to you singly all are intrusted as one flock. And not only of the sheep, but of all the shepherds you are the only Shepherd. Ask you whence I prove this? By the word of the Lord. For to whom I say, not of Bishops, but even of Apostles, were all the sheep intrusted so absolutely, and without distinction? 'Peter, if thou lovest Me, feed My sheep.' Which sheep? the people of this or that city, or region, or specified empire? My sheep, He saith. To whom is it not plain that He did not designate some, but assign all? nothing is excepted where nothing is distinguished. And perhaps the rest of his fellow-disciples were present when, by committing them to one, He commended unity to all in one flock, and one shepherd, according to that 'My dove, My beautiful, My perfect is but one.' Where is unity, there is perfection. The other numbers have not perfection, but division, in receding from unity. Hence it is that others received each their own people, knowing the sacrament. Finally, James, who seemed to be a pillar of the Church, was contented with Jerusalem alone, yielding up to Peter the whole. But well was he there placed to raise up seed to his dead Brother, when that Brother was slain. For he was called the Brother

of the Lord. Moreover, when the brother of the Lord gives way, what other would intrude himself on the prerogative of Peter?

"Therefore, according to your canons, others have been called to a part of your solicitude, but you to the fulness of power. The power of others is conferred within certain limits; yours is extended even over those who have received power over others. Can you not, if fitting cause exist, shut Heaven to a Bishop, depose him from the Episcopate, even deliver him to Satan? Therefore does your privilege stand to you unshaken, as well in the keys which are given you, as in the sheep which are intrusted to you. Hear another thing which no less confirms to you your prerogative. The disciples were in the ship, and the Lord appeared on the shore, and, what was cause of greater delight, in His risen Body. Peter, knowing that it is the Lord, casts himself into the sea, and thus came to Him while the rest arrived in the ship. What meaneth that? It is a sign of the one only Priesthood of Peter, by which he received not one ship only, as the rest each their own, but the world itself for his government. For the sea is the world, the ships Churches. Thence it is that, on another occasion, walking like the Lord on the waters, he marked himself out as the single Vicar of Christ, who should rule over not one people, but all;

since the 'many waters' are 'many peoples.' Thus, while every one of the rest has his own ship, to thee the one most great ship is intrusted; the Universal Church herself, made out of all Churches, diffused through the whole world."*

*S. Bernard de Consid. lib. ii. c. 8.

Section VI.

S. Peter's Primacy, and the Royal Supremacy.

And now, what do we, as English Christians, owe to the chair of Peter? *We owe it every thing.*

If it is "the root and womb of the Catholic Church" in general, how much more to us in particular!

When Augustine, the Monk, came into England with his band of Missionaries, did he come of himself, or was he *sent?* Who gave him *mission?* Who gave him *spiritual jurisdiction?* Who empowered him to be Primate over England, and to create other Bishops? A power is wanted for all this. Whence did he get it?

Not from the Kentish king, for he was not yet gathered into the fold of Christ himself; how could he *send?*

And had he been a sheep of the fold, how could he give mission to a shepherd?

Nor, again, was he monarch of England. How could he assign all England for a spiritual province?

Augustine derived his mission from S. Peter's Chair.

Augustine derived his power to create other Bishops, and to assign them dioceses, from S. Peter's Chair.

Augustine derived authority over them, when so created, from S. Peter's Chair.

Augustine's successors retained the authority which he had held by commission from S. Peter's Chair.

That English Church arose, parcelling out the island, and irrigating every plot of it with the life-giving water of the Gospel.

The fountain-head was in S. Peter's Chair.

As a living member, it made part of a living Body; and as that Body was ruled and maintained by a head, so was the member.

The head was S. Peter, living also in his successors.

What part had the civil power in all this?

It *allowed* the spiritual power to act; it added to its actions civil authority and privileges; it confirmed, by the sanction of spiritual laws, those assignations of spiritual subjects which the spiritual power had made.

But it never *made* these by and of itself; it never claimed to *send* labourers into the vineyard of the Lord.

It preserved and maintained the civil jurisdic-

tion in these mixed causes when it came into contact with the spiritual; but it never claimed to *originate* this spiritual jurisdiction itself, or to be *supreme judge*, or *judge* at all, in matters of faith.*

Augustine, the Bishop, had one domain; Ethelbert, the King, had another. He was Augustine's *spiritual child*, and *temporal lord*.

For more than nine hundred years this relationship continued; and as it is founded in first principles of the Christian Faith, the only marvel is, that it can be needful to set it forth, as if it were doubted by any.

But at least the whole ancient Church of England was built on it.

Leaving his days of prayer and peace, S. Augustine went forth from that monastery on the Roman hill, visited and loved by how many English pilgrims, for how many hundred years! He was sent, as yet a priest only, with mission from the Prince of the Apostles, that when the shadow of Peter passed over them, the slaves might become sons, and the Angli Angeli.

These were the words of S. Gregory: "To Augustine your ruler, whom ye make your Abbot, be in all things humbly obedient, knowing

* See this learnedly proved in the late pamphlet of Archdeacon Manning, *The Appellate Jurisdiction of the Crown* &c.

that whatever you fulfil by his admonition will in all things profit your souls. The Almighty God protect you with His grace, and grant me to see the fruit of your labour *in the eternal country*. Since if I cannot labour with you, I may be found with you in the joy of your reward, for I wish to labour with you. God preserve you safe, most beloved sons." *

At the command of S. Gregory, Augustine afterwards receives consecration as Bishop from Virgilius the Primate of Arles. And this alone would prove how completely distinct is the question of jurisdiction from that of order. Virgilius had no authority whatever to *send* Augustine into England, but at the command of his spiritual superior he could confer upon him those powers which spring from consecration, for the *exercise* of which S. Gregory alone gave him *mission*. To this Bishop Virgilius S. Gregory had before granted "the pall," that is, authority to represent himself over all the Bishops of Gaul. "Because," he says, "it is plain to all *whence* the Holy Faith came forth, in the regions of Gaul, when your Brotherhood asks afresh for the ancient custom of the Apostolic See, what does it, but as a good child, recur to the bosom of its mother?" "And so we grant your Brotherhood to represent ourselves in the Churches which are

* S. Greg. Ep. vi. 51.

in the kingdom of our most excellent son Childebert, according to ancient custom, which has God for its author." *

And so the same power which gave the Bishop of Arles authority over all the Bishops of France, committed England and its future Bishops to Augustine.

Thus, in another letter, S. Gregory empowers Augustine to constitute two provinces, his own, and that of York, each with its Bishops; and he adds to him personally, "Let your Fraternity have all the Bishops of Britain subject to you, by authority of our Lord God." †

In answer to a question of S. Augustine, he says, in another place: "We give you no authority over the Bishops of Gaul; but we commit to your Fraternity the care of all British Bishops." ‡

Thus the Anglican hierarchy sprung up under S. Gregory's hand: her Primacies were instituted by him and maintained by him. Every successor of S. Augustine received afresh from every successor of Gregory the continuance of the original mission and jurisdiction.

Thus Boniface V. writes to Justus, the fourth Archbishop, A.D. 622: "Moreover we send to your Fraternity the pall, *granting also to you to celebrate the ordination of Bishops*, when need requires." §

* S. Greg. Ep. lib. v. 53.
† Ep. lib. xi. 65.
‡ Lib. xi. Ep. 64.
§ Mansi, tom. x. 550.

Pope Honorius sends, at the request of King Edwin, palls to the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, with permission that when one dies the survivor should consecrate another. "He may fill up his place with another Bishop *by this our authority*, which, as well out of regard to your affection as on account of the great space between us, *we are induced to concede*." *

The same Pope writes to the Archbishop Honorius, A.D. 626:

"You ask that the authority of your See should be confirmed by the privilege of our authority. Therefore, according to the old custom which your Church has kept from the time of Augustine, your predecessor, of holy memory, by the authority of blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, we grant to you, Honorius, and to your successors for ever, the Primacy of all the Churches of Britain. Therefore we have ordered all the Churches and regions of England *to be subjected to your jurisdiction*, and in the City of Canterbury let the Metropolitical place and honour of the Archiepiscopate, and the head of all the Churches of the English people, be kept for the future." † And he prays that God would confirm with perpetual stability, the Archbishop, "following the rule of your *Master* and *Head*, S. Gregory."

* Mansi, x. 580. † Ibid. pp. 580, 583.

So in the year 657 Pope Vitalian writes to our Archbishop Theodore:

"We learn your desire for the *confirmation* of the diocese subject to you, because in all things you desire to shine by our privilege of Apostolical authority. Wherefore we have thought good at present *to commend to your most wise Holiness all the Churches in the island of Britain.* But now, by the authority of blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, to whom power was given by our Lord to bind and to loose in Heaven and in earth, we, however unworthy, holding the place of that same blessed Peter, who bears the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, grant to you, Theodore, and your successors, all that from old time was allowed, for ever to retain unimpaired, in that your Metropolitical See, in the City of Canterbury."*

Yet these powers might be withdrawn or changed by him who gave them; for we find, in the year 795, Kenulph, King of Mercia, writing to solicit Pope Leo III. to restore to Canterbury that part of its province which his predecessor Hadrian, at the request of King Offa, had erected into an Archiepiscopal province for Lichfield. And this prayer is granted by the Pope. At the same time all the Bishops of England petition the Pope that the favour of one Archbishop con-

* Mansi, tom. xi. 24.

secrating the successor of the other, which had been interrupted by the troubles of the times, might be restored; and that the pall might be granted without going to Rome for it.*

At a Council held at Rome in 680, Pope Agatho had ordered that each Archbishop in England, "who for the time is honoured with the pall by this Apostolic See,"† may promote and ordain the Bishops subject to him. In the same Council, Wilfred is restored to the See of York.

In the year 1072, a contest arose by reason of Thomas, Archbishop of York, denying the Primacy of Canterbury over his See. A Council was held in Winton, by order of Pope Alexander, to terminate this, and Archbishop Lanfranc communicates to the Pope the result, that clear proof of his Primacy over all England had been adduced. "As the greatest strength and foundation of the whole cause," he says, "there were produced the grants and writings of your predecessors, Gregory, Boniface, Honorius, Vitalian, Sergius, Gregory, and the last Leo, which from time to time, from various causes, were given or transmitted to the Prelates of the Church of Canterbury and the Kings of England."‡

As the Archbishop's Primacy extended over all England, and had comprehended the ordain-

* Mansi, xiii. 960, 989. † Ibid. xi. 180–183. ‡ Ibid. xx. 23.

ing of Bishops and celebrating of Councils, to prove that it was granted to him and maintained by the authority of the Pope, is to prove that mission and jurisdiction to govern the whole Church of England proceeded perpetually from S. Peter's Chair.

Thus, whoever might nominate and whoever might elect Bishops, the power which constituted a particular person to govern a particular diocese was derived mediately or immediately from the See of Peter: that is, this See was the perpetual fountain-head of mission and spiritual jurisdiction. The Primacies which it had created, it likewise maintained; and that which was originally a communication of S. Peter's authority (for from him alone it comes that one Bishop is superior to another), would subsist throughout by union with S. Peter.

He who is the source of spiritual jurisdiction is necessarily the Supreme Judge of doctrine.

But that which the See of Peter was, ages before the very foundation of the See of Canterbury, *in the whole Church*, it seems hardly necessary to prove, that it was always *in a province of the Church*. Could any province of the Church determine a point concerning the faith by and of itself, the least evil to which that must lead would be the dismemberment of that province from the rest of the Body. For what can

insure unity of faith without submission to a common head? This even our Lord did not attempt, even in a body of twelve. How can there possibly exist "one Episcopate, of which a part is held by each without division of the whole," unless there be one law for that whole Episcopate, maintained by one authority within it: as the very Saint who sets forth this idea of the Episcopate observes, "Unity is preserved in the source"?

But, as a matter of fact, for more than nine hundred years the See of S. Peter was in this nation the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge, and matters of faith could be carried before it, as the court of appeal in last resource.

And, as a matter of fact, for nine hundred and sixty years sixty-nine Archbishops sat in the seat of S. Augustine at Canterbury, by the authority of him who sent S. Augustine.

But by whose authority did the seventieth sit? who gave to Dr. Parker not his orders, not his episcopal Character, but *mission*, to execute the powers which belong to that character in the determinate See of Canterbury, and *authority* to execute the powers of a Primate in the province of Canterbury?

To this no answer can be given but one—Queen Elizabeth gave, or at least attempted to give, that mission and that authority.

Let us simply state historical facts.

Queen Elizabeth at her accession found the ancient relation, which for nine hundred and sixty years had subsisted between the See of S. Peter and the Church of England, restored by the act of her sister, after its disturbance by her father and brother. This relation consisted mainly in two points—that the Pope instituted all Bishops, and was the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge.

Queen Elizabeth caused an Act of Parliament to be passed, depriving the Pope of these two powers. And this Act was passed in spite of the remonstrances of the Episcopate, the Convocation, and the two Universities.

But she did not stop there. Who was to possess these two powers? Somewhere they must be. She coveted them for her Crown: she took and annexed them to that Crown.

She made herself Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge by causing the appeals, which had ever been made from the Court of the Archbishop to the Pope, to be made to the Crown. More need not be said on this head, as all the Courts of the kingdom have just affirmed this power to exist in the Crown; and as her Majesty, in exercise of her authority as Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge, has just reversed the sentence of the Archbishop's Court, and decreed that the Clergy of the Church have it wholly at their option to preach and

teach that infants are regenerated by God in Holy Baptism, or that such a doctrine is "a soul-destroying heresy:" nay, as the perfection of liberty, the same clergyman can now at the font, in the words of the Baptismal Service, declare his belief in the former doctrine, and in the pulpit proceed to enforce the latter!

She took to herself, likewise, the power of *instituting* Bishops, which is of originating mission and jurisdiction; for every Bishop of the Anglican Church has been from that time instituted by order and commission from the Crown, and by that alone. Now, it has been well said, that "Sovereigns who covet spiritual authority have never dared to seize it upon the altar with their own hands: they know well that in this there is an absurdity even greater than the sacrilege. Incapable as they are of being *directly* recognised as the source and regulators of religion, they seek to make themselves its masters by the intermediacy of some sacerdotal body enslaved to their wishes: and there, Pontiffs without mission, usurpers of the truth itself, they dole out to their people the measure of it which they think sufficient to check revolt; they make of the Blood of Jesus Christ an instrument of moral servitude and of political schemes, until the day when they are taught by terrible catastrophes that the greatest crime which sovereignty can commit against

itself and against society is the meddling touch which profanes religion." *

Dr. Parker was instituted by four Bishops without a diocese, who had no power whatever of their own to give mission to the See of Canterbury: they professed to act under Queen Elizabeth's commission.

But to show how the fountain of this mission and spiritual jurisdiction was made to reside in the Crown, we need only refer to the law which enacted, that in case an Archbishop should refuse within a certain time to institute a Bishop at the command of the Crown, *a case which in three hundred years has never occurred*, though Dr. Hoadley and Dr. Hampden have been among the persons instituted, the Crown might issue a commission to any other Bishops of the province to institute, thus overruling the special authority of the Archbishop as Archbishop.

Moreover, the letters patent of every Colonial Bishop declare in the most express words that Episcopal jurisdiction to govern such and such a diocese, which the letters patent erect, is granted by the Crown.

And not only does the Crown *grant* this jurisdiction, but it can *recall* it after it has been once granted.

Take the latest exercise of this power.†

* Le Père Lacordaire. † London Gazette.

"The Queen has been pleased, by letters patent under the great seal of the United Kingdom, to *reconstitute* the Bishopric of Quebec, and to direct that the same shall comprise the district of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Gaspe *only*, and be called the Bishopric of Quebec: and her Majesty has been pleased to name and appoint the Right Rev. Father in God, George Jehoshaphat Mountain, Doctor of Divinity, *heretofore Bishop of Montreal, to be Bishop of the said See of Quebec.* Her Majesty has also been pleased to constitute so much of the ancient diocese of Quebec as comprises the district of Montreal to be a Bishop's See and Diocese, to be called the Bishopric of Montreal, and to name and appoint the Rev. Francis Fulford, Doctor of Divinity, to be ordained and consecrated Bishop of the said See of Montreal." *

* Since this was written, a judgment of the Privy Council, accepted and ratified by the Crown, in the case of Dr. Colenso, has decided that the grant of spiritual jurisdiction from the Crown to Bishops in colonies which possess a parliamentary constitution is invalid in law. They become, therefore, Bishops without dioceses. It is stated in the papers that Dr. Selwyn and the other Anglican Bishops in New Zealand have in consequence petitioned the Queen to be allowed to return their letters-patent, which professed to give them jurisdiction. The papers do not state whence Dr. Selwyn and his brethren propose to get it for the future. It would seem as if the question of spiritual jurisdiction were not at all considered in the Anglican Church; yet absolution given by a true

All that the Archbishop has to do in such a matter is to give Episcopal consecration to a person so designated, on pain of having his goods confiscated, and his person imprisoned: *but he does not give the diocese or the mission.*

Her Majesty likewise—in the exercise of Papal authority—has created sundry Metropolitans, as of Calcutta, to whom she has subjected all India; and Sydney, to whom she has subjected not only Australia, but Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand.

Now here let me observe two things.

First, that the power to nominate for election, or to elect one to be a Bishop, is quite distinct from the power to institute or confirm, which latter *is the deliverance of the spiritual power of government.* The former privileges may be and are exercised by the civil power; but the latter authority must be derived from a spiritual source.

Secondly, the civil power may, if it so choose, give the sanction of civil law to the assignations of dioceses made by the spiritual power; and attach a certain *civil* validity to the spiritual acts of Bishops instituted by spiritual power. But here the case is quite different. The diocese

priest without jurisdiction is invalid; and this fact alone, without going into the question whether her priests are true priests and her Bishops true Bishops, annuls all absolutions in the Church of England.

is made and erected, divided and altered, solely by the civil power. The spiritual jurisdiction actually possessed by a Bishop over his flock is taken away, as concerns a part of that flock, and conferred upon another. The Bishop is purely passive under this. And so particular Bishops, already supposed to be under the See of Canterbury, are without permission of that See subjected to an intermediate Metropolitan.

Now the whole principle of the Anglican Reformation consists in these two things,—that the civil power is made the origin of Mission and Spiritual Jurisdiction, and the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge. Those who ask for these things to be altered ask that the Reformation would be pleased to undo all that it did amiss, and so restore itself to Catholic Unity. Would that they may be heard!—but there are few signs of it.

And the whole of what I have written in the preceding five sections shows that the Papal authority consists in exactly these two points. And thus it was that Queen Elizabeth took and transferred the Papal Supremacy to herself. And thus it is that authority to administer the Sacraments of our Lord Jesus Christ in this or that place or district, the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, the power to bind and loose, are pretended to be given by an earthly Sovereign. Can there be found in the history of eighteen hundred years a

heresy more directly antichristian than this? It strikes at the very heart of the Church of God.

From the beginning the crime of being a creature and a slave of the State has been alleged against the Anglican Establishment. Is this charge true? and, if so, in what does it consist?

It is not because a communion is *established;* because its Bishops are *nominated* by the Crown and sit in Parliament; because their acts have a civil validity; because its Clergy are civil officers,—that it can be justly called a creature or a slave of the State. All this may be innocently, may be rightly, may be most happily. But a communion is the creature and the slave of the civil power when the origin of its mission and spiritual jurisdiction, and the supreme judgment upon its doctrine, are vested in the civil power.

But to return to Queen Elizabeth. Armed with this civil law, which extinguished the supreme jurisdiction of S. Peter's See, and its institution of Bishops, and transferred both these powers to the Crown, imposing an oath for their maintenance, she ordered this oath to be administered to the existing Bishops. The Primacy was vacant, and sixteen members of the Episcopate alone survived. Of these, *fifteen* refused to sever that link between their Sees and the See of Rome, which had subsisted for nine hundred

and sixty years, from the very foundation of the Church; refused beside to acknowledge the transference of the two above-named spiritual powers of the Crown. In virtue of that law they were deposed.

One Bishop, Kitchen of Llandaff, had the heart to accept these conditions, and continued on in his See, surrendering to courtiers the greater part of its endowments.

But even he took no part in the confirmation or consecration of the new Primate.

And so the ancient Episcopate, which derived its succession from S. Augustine, and its mission from S. Peter, became extinct in banishment, in captivity, and in duresse. The Episcopate which for well-nigh a thousand years had formed, and civilised, and blessed England in a thousand ways, and by which it was a member of the great Christian Body, was swept away.

And a new Episcopate, deriving its mission from Queen Elizabeth, and perpetually dependent for its jurisdiction on the Crown of England, and owning in that Crown its Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge, arose. This is its origin, this the principle on which it is built, the subjection of the spiritual power to the civil in spiritual things, in faith, and in discipline. *Humanam conati sunt facere Ecclesiam.* They attempted, and they have succeeded. For myself, now that after long

years of pain and distress, of thought, of inquiry and of prayer, since by the mercy of God the light has broken upon me, let me say as much as this,—for not to say it would be to conceal the strongest conviction, neither formed in a hurry, nor reached without great suffering,—let those who can put their trust in such a Church and such an Episcopate, those who can feel their souls safe in such a system, work in it, think for it, write for it, pray for it, and *trust their souls to it*. But the duty which I owe to Almighty God, and the regard which I have for my salvation, compel me to declare my belief, by word and act, that it is an *imposture*, all the more dangerous to the souls of men, to the affectionate, to the obedient, to those who believe that there is "one Body and one Spirit," because it pretends to be a member of the Catholic Body, with which it has broken the essential relation, and to possess spiritual powers which it has indeed forfeited.

Section VII.

The Effects of S. Peter's Primacy, and of the Royal Supremacy.

The Primacy which our Lord set up for ever in His Church in the person of S. Peter and his successors was so set up to maintain unity of faith and communion.

That Primacy was finally abolished in the Anglican Establishment by Queen Elizabeth, and two of the chief powers belonging to it attached to her throne, powers which cannot be separated; —that is, to be the Source of Spiritual Jurisdiction, and the Supreme Judge of doctrine. Have the two effects intended by the Primacy of divine institution,—unity of faith and of communion,—followed in the system set up under the Royal Supremacy of human institutions?

Has the Anglican Church one faith? Has she communion with the Church Catholic throughout the world?

As to faith, the revelation of our Lord has been of late well divided into three great branches, which indeed are sufficiently indicated by the arrangement of the Apostles' Creed, viz., the

doctrine of the Holy Trinity; the doctrine of the Incarnation; the doctrine of the Church.

It was this latter which was assaulted at the time the Anglican Reformation was set up; and of course to this latter we must mainly look to see the unity of the New Church. Has the Anglican communion any one consistent faith concerning the Catholic Church, and the sacramental system, which is in fact the applying of the Incarnation to the mystical Body of Christ and the souls which belong to it? Who will venture to say it has, *as a whole?* I speak not of this or that party, Evangelical, Latitudinarian, or High Church, or the Oxford movement, within it; but does the Anglican Church, *as a whole*, deliver to men any belief as to where the Catholic Church at this moment is; whether the Roman is part of it or not; whether the Greek is part of it or not; whether Presbyterianism in Scotland is a branch of it or not; whether it is infallible or not; whether, if General Councils may err, the whole Church may err, and teach falsehood for God's truth? Each individual in the Anglican Church will have his own answer, or none, upon these questions. Yet all repeat: "I believe one Holy Catholic Church." How can they believe what they do not know any thing about?

Or again, as to the benefits of Holy Baptism;

are not the two great sections of the Establishment at daggers drawn about these—full of misconceptions even as to their own meaning?

Or only conceive that a late trial had turned upon the nature of the Holy Eucharist, instead of Baptism. The mind revolts at the thought of the blasphemies which would have been uttered, and the unbelief in that holy mystery which would have been shown.*

Now, not to mention the effects conveyed by Confirmation, and Orders, and Sacramental Absolution, there is not a rural deanery in England whose members could meet together without all or either of the above questions being an apple of discord, if flung among them.

But there is one point which runs right into the heart of him who is charged with the care of souls, and day by day leaves its sting there. The Anglican Church abolished at the Reforma-

* Since this was written, a trial respecting the Anglican doctrine of the Eucharist was about to take place; but the maintainer of a sort of Real Presence pleaded that the time limited by the act for trial had elapsed, and was very glad to escape from a decision by aid of this technical objection. Truly a heroic position for one who fancied that he was asserting a doctrine which is indeed the dearest privilege of the true Church, but which it seems he was content to hold as his individual opinion, denied by as many as list of ministers and laymen in the Anglican Church.

tion that discipline of penance which existed all over the world. What has she substituted for it? Are her children to sin and sin on, for months and years together, and *restore themselves* when they please to the communion of the Church? sin on, to the very bed of death, in trust upon God's indulgence? Or what living bond of connection is there between the pastor and his flock *in health?* How can he ever come to close quarters with the secret sins of the individual conscience? How to deal with sins committed after Baptism is a question of the utmost daily moment to the clergy. How is it ruled for them in Anglicanism?

They have each to teach souls the way to Heaven; to teach young children, as well as to remind adults, of the privileges and duties of baptised persons; and how to be restored if they sin. They have all to attend death-beds, and sinners laden with guilt: are they to hear their confessions, or tell them to confess to God alone? to give them absolution, or to instruct them that God alone forgives sins, and *not* by His ministers?

These several parties will answer these questions in different ways. In the mean time the sinner dies!

Do Anglican Bishops authorise auricular con-

fession, or no? or, if they are asked the question, put it off with an ambiguity?*

Is the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession taught or not by the Anglican Church, or is it "an open question"? A Bishop lately denied it in strong terms, preaching on a solemn public occasion at S. Paul's Cathedral, I think before the great Missionary power of the Church; the consequence was, that he was not asked to print his sermon.

Yet one would think this doctrine of some importance to the being of a Church.

Is it not universally felt that the Prayer-book looks one way, and the Articles another? The remains of the Catholic spirit in the former consort ill with the flagrant virus of the Reformation in the latter. It is a great contest which is to interpret the other: but the Privy Council seems to have turned the scale in favour of the Articles.

Thus it appears that the whole body of doctrine which was attacked at the Reformation remains in the Anglican system in a state of uttermost confusion. All that it has of good is that which it derived unaltered from the Roman Church: where it attempted to change, it set up nobody knows what, but something so indefinite,

* These are facts which have come to the writer's knowledge.

so ambiguous, so chameleon-like, in a word, so *dishonest*, that Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic claim it each for themselves. That is, a compromise was made of the whole sacramental system: and a royal decree now comes forth that the clergy may teach contradictories about it.

And is this indeed God's truth?—did our Lord set up a Church for this, that men might be tossed about with every wind of doctrine? But I go no further in a subject on which one might write a volume. I only wish to show the necessary result of a fatal principle.

And as to unity of communion with the rest of the Church, what has the Royal Supremacy done?—not merely severed it, as a fact, but made it *impossible*.

Other communions are unhappily schismatical, as being *de facto* disjoined from the Head: but they are not built upon, and do not consecrate, the schismatical principle. Greeks or Armenians might once more accept S. Peter's Primacy to-morrow. The very Monophysites have the hierarchical principle in perfection, and still look up to S. Mark's chair, even in its degradation, as the centre of unity; and they may one day remember that S. Mark was sent by S. Peter. But Anglicanism is founded on the very principle of denying S. Peter's Primacy, a principle of isolation and severance, which terminates the unity of the

Church with each individual Bishop, or rather makes all alike subject, as Bishops, to the civil power. Were this carried out, there would be as many Christianities as there are Christian nations. But enough of divisions which sadden the inmost heart, and lead it to the conclusion that there is no Church upon Earth; for this every *consistent* Anglican must believe.

Is he not told that the Roman Church, the Greek Church, and the Anglican, which neither teach one creed, nor are united in one government, make up yet one Church; that is, spiritual bodies, which excommunicate each other, make up that "one Body and one Spirit," which has "one Lord and one Faith"? When the individual conscience asks: What am I to believe *as a matter of divine faith*, on points where these authorities disagree, what answer can be given? Accordingly, the result, to every thinking mind, of Anglicanism is, that there is at present no divine teacher upon Earth at all, whom we are bound to believe and obey. That is *naked infidelity*. Let me entreat those to consider this, who seem to have made up their minds to substitute what they call "loyalty" to the Anglican Church *for maintenance of the Catholic Faith*, in whose name they once said great things.

Now turn to the other side.

Has the *Divine* Primacy effected the purpose

for which it was instituted? Has it maintained unity of faith and of communion?

As to faith, go where you will, and within the bosom of that communion which is built on the rock of S. Peter's Chair, you will find no variance of belief on that threefold cord of doctrine mentioned above. Neither Clergy nor Laity differ as to the doctrine of the Most Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Church, *nor as to all the consequences derived from them.* The Parish Priest pursues his daily task in no doubt as to the instruction of the young, the recovery of the wandering, the consolation of the dying. Councils of Bishops meet in all directions, and send the result of their consultations and prayers to the common Shepherd of all, without contest, without variation of belief, from one end of the earth to the other. The Host comes forth in procession, and every heart is lifted up to the Author of Salvation, every head bowed in worship; one solemn feeling of the Real Presence fills a great church, and inspires its congregation. Moreover, Saints live and grow on it; societies of men and women are inspired by it unto all the labours of self-denying charity.

Take as symbols within one communion the bare table and the deserted shrine; but comfort, respectability, order, the powers of the world that is.

Within the other, a people hushed in adoration, a cloud of incense, and the Present God; but poverty, continence, religious communities, the powers of the world to come.

Within the one, among the clergy itself, disputes, divisions, indifferences, disbelief of all dogma.

Within the other, a system, acknowledged by all the faithful, encompassing and supporting them from the cradle to the grave.

And as to communion, throughout all regions of the world, how far more justly now than when S. Augustine wrote, may the Catholic say: "I am held in the Catholic Church by the consent of nations and of races, by authority begun in miracles, nurtured in hope, attaining its growth in charity, established in antiquity: I am held by the succession of Bishops down to the present Episcopate from the very See of Peter the Apostle, to whom the Lord, after His resurrection, intrusted His sheep to be fed. Lastly, I am held by the very name of Catholic, which, not without reason, among so many heresies, that Church alone has to such a degree taken possession of, that, though all heretics wish to be called Catholics, yet, if any stranger ask: Where is the Catholic Church? no heretic will dare to show you his own church."

Would not this seem to be a prophecy uttered fourteen hundred years ago? and yet as true is what follows:

"Those, therefore, so many and so great most dear bonds of the Christian name with reason hold a believer in the Catholic Church, even if, through the slowness of our natural ability or the demerit of our life, the truth should not as yet have shown itself most fully revealed. But amongst *you*, where there is none of these things to invite and hold me, *the promise of the truth* alone makes a great noise; and indeed if this be so plain that it cannot be doubted, it is to be preferred to all those things by which I am held in the Catholic Church: *but if it is only promised and not shown*, no one shall move me from that faith which binds my spirit by folds so many and so strong to the Christian religion."

And now I have given the *Scriptural* authority for S. Peter's Primacy, carried on in his successors;

Where is the *Scriptural* authority for the Primacy of Queen Victoria?

I have given the *Patristic* authority, and that of Councils, for S. Peter's Primacy;

What Fathers and what Councils acknowledge a temporal supremacy of the State over the faith and discipline of the Church?

Let them be produced; let us compare the one with the other.

Is there *little* in Holy Scripture for S. Peter's Primacy? *How much* is there for the Apostolate and Episcopate itself? But the words of God are few, only they create and they maintain. Set the weight of the world on those words which He addressed to Peter, and they will bear it.

But for the Royal Supremacy you have *nothing* to bring from Scripture; not one word, unless you like, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

And as for tradition, King Henry and Queen Elizabeth set themselves against the current of fifteen hundred years; they tore up what had been the root of their own Church for well nigh a thousand. They severed themselves from S. Peter's See, and they sowed throughout their realm divisions never-ending, — spiritual severance, isolation, and indifference; they destroyed that religious unity which, of all others is the most precious inheritance of a land. This they were allowed to do, and yet at this moment more Bishops, and well-nigh as many people, subject to S. Peter, own their temporal sovereignty, as compose that communion which acknowledges their spiritual supremacy, which is itself rent to pieces,

and has the denial even of the doctrine of Baptism imposed on it by that supremacy!* It was a fearful vision of schism and of heresy which the poet saw:

> "A rundlet that hath lost
> In middle or side stave, gapes not so wide
> As one I mark'd, torn from the chin throughout
> Down to the hinder passage, 'twixt the legs
> Dangling his entrails hung, the midriff lay
> Open to view, and wretched ventricle."
>
> Dante, *Hell*, c. xxviii.

Am I to believe that this hideous phantom is the teacher sent to me by Almighty God? Is

* To this may now be added, by the decision of the Privy Council in the case of the *Essays and Reviews*, the following doctrines, which, according to a document drawn up by Convocation, are denied in that book: "1. The verity of miracles, including the idea of creation presented to us by the Bible.

"2. Predictive prophecy, especially predictions concerning the Incarnation, Person, and Offices of our Lord.

"3. The descent of all men from Adam.

"4. The fall of man and original sin.

"5. The divine command to sacrifice Isaac.

"6. The Incarnation of our Lord.

"7. Salvation through the blood of Christ.

"8. The Personality of the Holy Spirit.

"9. Special and supernatural inspiration."

Notwithstanding this the Supreme Judge in the Church of England declared that the book containing these denials did not contain matter contrary to the articles and formularies of the Church of England, and therefore did not incur censure. See *The Crown in Council on the "Essays and Reviews,"* pp. 17-18, by Archbishop Manning.

this the dispenser of His Sacraments? the pillar and ground of the truth?

Whither then shall I turn, but to thee, O Glorious Roman Church, to whom God has given, in its fulness, the double gift of ruling and of teaching? Thine alone are the keys of Peter, and the sharp sword of Paul. On thee alone, with their blood, have they poured out their whole doctrine. Too late have I found thee, who shouldst have fostered my childhood, and set thy gentle and awful seal on my youth; who shouldst have brought me up in the serene regions of truth, apart from doubt and the long agony of uncertain years. Yet before I understood thee, I could admire; before I acknowledged thy claims, I could see that undaunted spirit which would resign every thing save the inheritance of Christ; that superhuman wisdom, by the gift of which, while "Earthly states have had single conquerors or legislators, a Charlemagne here, a Philip Auguste there; in Rome alone the spiritual ruler has dwelt for ages, smiting the waters of the flood again and again with the mantle of Elijah, and making himself a path through them on the dry land."* But now I see that the God of Elijah is with thee. O too

* *Church of England cleared from Schism*, p. 394.

long sought, and too late found, yet be it given me to pass under thy protection the short remains of this troubled life, to wander no more from the fold, but to find the Chair of the Chief Shepherd to be indeed "the shadow of a Great Rock in a weary land"!

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